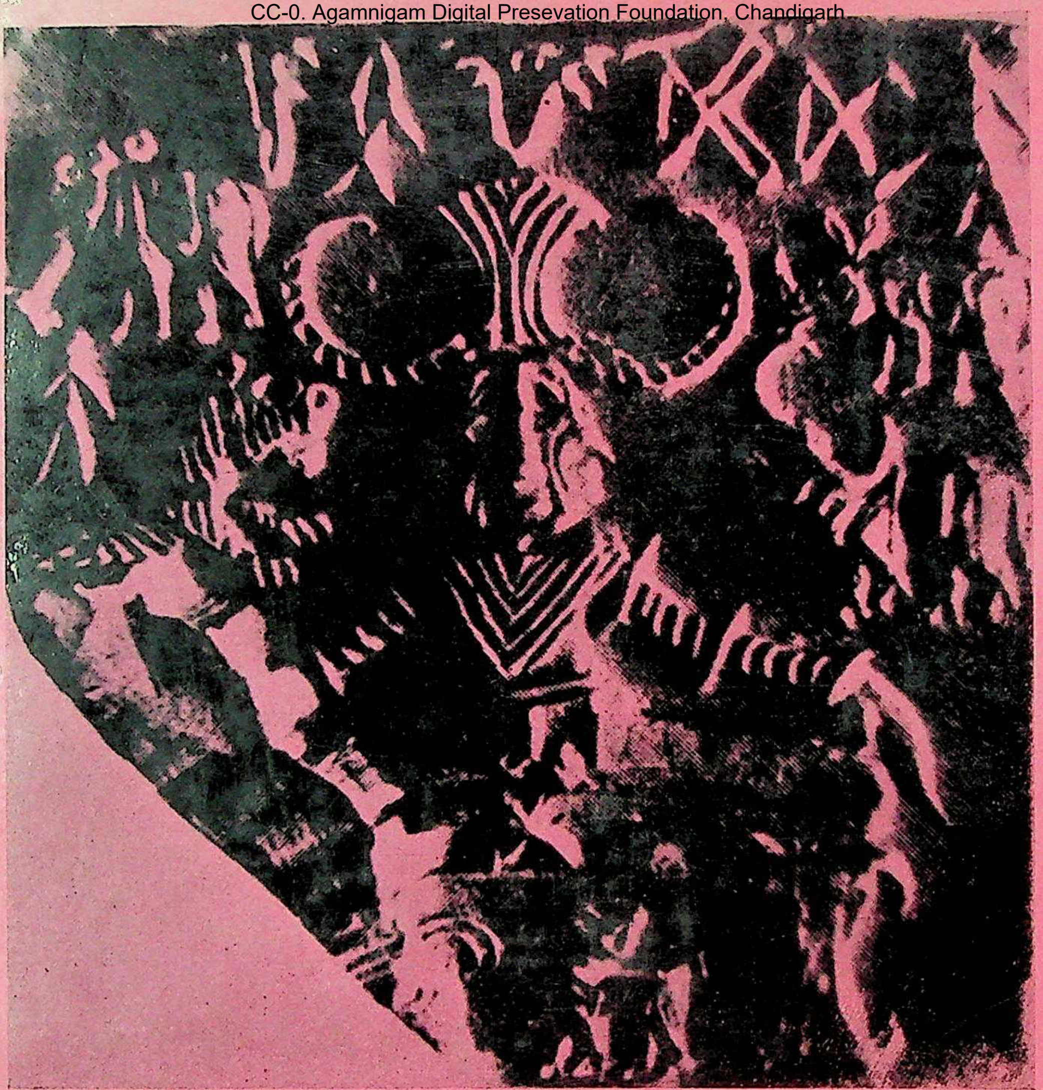

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O. P. BHARADWAJ

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STUDIES IN THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA

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O P BHARADWAJ

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Dedicated to my revered teacher
Prof. Jagannath Agrawal
as an humble token of
affectionate regard &
profound gratitude

तुभ्येदमग्ने मधुमत्तमं वचस्तुभ्यं मनीषा इयमस्तु शं हृदे ।
त्वां गिर: सिन्धुमिवावनीर्महीरा पृणन्ति शवसा वर्धयन्ति च ॥

(*Ṛgveda V. 11. 5*)

Foreword

Cultural history of India has recently been picking up momentum. There was a time when history meant only a narration of kings, their dynasties, successors, fights, capitals, extent of kingdoms, and the like. Luckily that concept has now undergone a change for the better. It now covers the people at large with rulers as landmarks here and there. Religion, language, literature and education, political and social institutions, industry and trade, art and architecture, topography *etc.*, play an equal role.

Speaking of topography one thinks of place names, names of tribes, rivers, hills, routes and what not. It is in this context that Shri O.P. Bharadwaj's Studies in the Historical Geography of Ancient India occupies a special place. It is, in fact, a collection of twenty of his research papers on the subject, originally contributed to various journals from time to time. The subject is vast and although general works like the Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India by Nando Lal Dey, Ancient Geography of India by A. Cunningham and by A. Barua and Historical Geography of India by B.C. Law, and the like are already there, intensive regional studies have not received adequate attention of scholars. Shri Bharadwaj's work is a welcome contribution in this direction as he has devoted himself to a detailed study of selected topics relating to north India. In his well-documented papers Sh. Bharadwaj presents identification of peoples, places and rivers *etc.*, mentioned in early literature on the basis of historical, geographical and linguistic considerations and traces the evolution of tribal and geographical names through the ages leading in the process to some important conclusions deserving of serious notice by scholars engaged in the reconstruction of India's past.

Some are inclined to take Ludhiana and Haryana as Rudrayāna and Hariyāna (thinking of the Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇābhyam legend engraved on clay sealings discovered in that area); but they may be wrong. The former is from Ailadhāna of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa and the latter from Śaryaṇā of the Ṛgveda as shown by Shri Bharadwaj. It is however difficult to pick and choose since all the articles contain refreshing and eye-opening bits of information for the student of Indian History. Articles on Naubandhana, Plakṣaprasravaṇa, Vinaśana, the Mūjavats and Mahāvṛṣas, the Buddha's visits to Kurukṣetra and the Bhādānakas may be specially mentioned for their brilliant reconstruction of some ignored or misunderstood topics of Ancient Indian history and geography.

These painstaking studies demonstrate a happy blend of thoroughness and objectivity and an equally balanced appreciation of both literary as well as archaeological evidence. In the process Shri Bharadwaj has exploded many a fanciful theory, demolished quite a few old standing misconceptions and invested with historicity personalities and events hitherto confined to the limbo of myth undeserving of serious notice.

The author is to be congratulated on this interesting work and it is to be hoped that its appearance will herald a revival of the declining interest in the study of historical geography of ancient India.

P-6, Hauz Khas
Enclave
New Delhi.

Prof. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra
Joint Director General
of Archaeology in India (Retd.)

Introduction

These studies were published in standard research journals of Indology. Some of them were also selected for publication in the proceedings of the various sessions of prestigious academic organisations like the All India Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress. They are mainly concerned with the historical geography, history and ethnography of ancient Kurukṣetra and its contiguous areas known in later literature by the name of Brahmāvarta and Brahmarṣideśa.

The origin and existence of geographical names are influenced by many factors, human as well as natural. Humanity has always been mobile. Individuals, groups, clans, communities and tribes have moved from one place to another, from one region to another, from one country to another and even from one continent to another, often lock, stock and barrel.

In the process they have left behind their associations as frequently as they have carried them along. So, like the more recent emergence of a New York, a New Zealand or a New Jersy we find a new Kurukṣetra springing up many centuries ago in the distant land of Laos. Names of places, rivers and regions have a tendency to proliferate. This tendency becomes stronger in proportion to the importance attached to them, particularly on account of holiness. There are many Gaṅgās and Sarasvatīs, more than one tīrthas carrying the name Cakra or Kapālamocana, more than one mountain peaks named Naubandhana and more than one forests called Naimiśa.

A new capital founded by a King is as likely to bear his name-tag as any old town where he erects a monument. Ailadhāna and Hisar-e-Feroza are only two such examples. It is equally possible that a place may be named after a tribe or an event as is the case with Bayana and Vinaśana respectively. Again an existing name may be modified or changed by a ruling power at its fancy. Ropar may, thus, become Rupnagar and Daulatabad Carterpuri. Then there is the philological process of linguistic evolution which continues to operate all the time, corrupting and converting geographical names into shapes and forms often difficult to recognise and sometimes even beyond recognition. So we witness the spectacle of Naubandhana changing to Nahan, Ailadhāna to Ludhiana, Śalyakarṣaṇa to Salakhani, Bhāruṇḍa to Paonta, Caitraratha to Chakrata, Pratiṣṭhāna to Patran, Pṛthūdaka to Pehoa, Śālvaka to Shiwalik, Aruṇā to Run and so on and so forth. Of course, one might come across exceptions like Karadhāna and Kārotī which have successfully defied this philological process for thousands of years but such cases are rare and by no means easy to spot for the very reason of their unexpected behaviour.

The confusion is often confounded by the all powerful hand of nature which can obliterate the very physical trace of a place-name preserved in literature or shift it from the original site. It can be buried gradually by the continuously building up soil or by the drifting sand or mud after a catastrophic flood. Sites along lakes or seas may be eroded by wave action and rising sea levels or subsistence of land may cover them with water. They can be affected by earthquakes that destroy buildings and by mudslides that can bury or even move entire settlements. Sites alongside rivers can be washed away by turbulent waters prone to shift their courses from time to time. And the human marauder may pilfer the exposed remains for utilisation in fresh construction on the existing mound or far away from it.

All this makes Historical Geography a difficult discipline. Unravelling its mysteries requires sound knowledge of the history of the region selected for study, close acquaintance with the original sources and their medium from the earliest times to almost the present day, access to all branches of Indian literature, familiarity with the philological principles of linguistic change, first hand geographical acquaintance with the region and upto-date information on epigraphical and archaeological discoveries. The task is challenging and time consuming and the output comparatively less. Nevertheless it is fascinating and highly rewarding if taken up with patience and hard work.

An identification settled on careful and dispassionate examination of reliable evidence can invest with life and historicity personalities and events earlier regarded as purely mythical, place historical events in their proper geographical perspective and provide clues and correctives in the reconstruction of history. To consider only one instance Indian accounts of the Great Deluge were usually treated as fanciful or borrowed from foreign sources. The proposed identification of Naubandhana vouchsafes the historicity of Manu Vaivasvata, sets at rest doubts about the event of the Great Deluge, pinpoints the scene of its occurrence and supports the accounts of disappearance of the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī and diversion of its waters, opening the possibility of explaining the consequential socio-economic and historical changes in the region. Researches into the historical geography of a region thus, inevitably lead to excursions into its history and ethnography.

The twenty research papers brought together in this collection therefore need no apology.

The first paper attempts an identification of Naubandhana, the mountain peak where Manu Vaivasvata is said to have tied his boat during the Great Flood. Second and third identify Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa, named in the Brāhmaṇas as the source of the Vedic Sarasvatī river while the fourth defines Vinaśana or the region of Sarasvatī's disappearance in the sands of the Rajasthan desert and concludes with an equation of the Indus civilisation with that of the Atharvaveda. The next two papers settle the identification of the capitals of King Purūravā, son of Ilā, daughter of Manu Vaivasvata, Pratiṣthāna of the Purāṇas and Ailadhāna of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. The seventh is a rejoinder to criticism of the identification of Ailadhāna and offers some more identifications in the process. This is followed by two papers containing a reconstruction of Vālmīki's accounts of the journey, between Gaṅgā and Sutlej, of the messengers sent to fetch Bharata from Kekaya on the sudden demise of Daśaratha and of Bharata on his way back to Ayodhyā and identifying a number of geographical names including rivers, towns, forests, tribes and regions. The tenth paper – fifth on the geography of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa— sums up the results of the preceding four papers.

The eleventh paper identifies the Vedic site of Kārotī where, according to the Brāhmaṇas, sage Tura Kāvaṣeya, priest of Janamejaya Pārikṣita made a fire altar for the gods. It is followed by one on Janamejaya Pārikṣita which offers fresh views on the extent of his kingdom in the light of two ancient traditions of Kurukṣetra. The next paper examines the location of the Naimiśa forest and shows that the name travelled eastward to Nimsar from Kurukṣetra where it was originally situated. The 'Romance of Ancient Rohtak' brings together the notices which the historical city has received in literature and highlights its political and commercial importance from the earliest times. The fifteenth paper undertakes a study of Gautama Buddha's missionary activity in Kurukṣetra and the extent of his success and in the process identifies a number of places visited by him. The next paper identifies the Bhādānakas and provides a brief reconstruction of their history till their final defeat by Prithviraj Chauhan. Then comes an account of the Restoration of geographical names in the northern part of India, particularly in the medieval age illustrated with the life story of a number of names of rivers, mountains, regions and places which got Sanskritised at different stages in their evolution. The following paper offers a brief account of ten important Vedic sites of north India which are badly in need of the attention of archaeologists before suffering further damage at the hands of man and nature. The succeeding paper is a criticism and refutation of an identification of Barhiṣmatī, mentioned in literature as the capital of Manu Svāyambhuva. The twentieth and the last paper deals with the identification of the Vedic tribes of Mūjavats and Mahāvṛṣas and examines their social and religious affiliations attempting an answer to many a question that arises in the process.

The identification/location of a number of Geographical and tribal names has been examined in these papers in the light of evidence drawn from the whole range of Indian literature, including original as well as secondary works from the earliest Vedic texts to the recently compiled Gazetteers apart from epigraphical sources and archaeological reports and the author's personal knowledge of the region gathered during his extensive tours.

The identification and location of many old sites, rivers, forests, regions and tribes *etc.*, has been finally settled for the first time on the basis of a detailed examination of the source material. In the process fresh light has been thrown on the historicity and chronology of names and events and even literary accounts often regarded as mythical or purely fanciful. Inevitably many old theories and beliefs have been shown to be untenable justifying a fresh approach to the reconstruction of certain aspects of the earliest phase of Indian history.

Due weight has been accorded to historical, geographical and philological considerations which have an important bearing on the subject and copious notes and references to the sources utilised by the author have been added.

Before closing this brief introduction the author must record how deeply he is indebted to his revered teacher Prof. Jagannath Agrawal, the renowned historian and doyen of Indian epigraphists, whose paternal affection and encyclopaedic knowledge has always been a source of inspiration. To Prof. Agrawal is dedicated this volume as an humble token of the affectionate regard of one of his students. The author is beholden to Prof. B. Ch. Chhabra the noted Sanskrit scholar and Archaeologist, formerly Epigraphist to Government of India and Joint Director General, Archaeological Survey of India who has very kindly contributed the foreword to this volume.

The author thankfully acknowledges his obligation to all learned scholars whose works he has consulted and craves their indulgence to any inadvertent omissions in the exhaustive notes and references. He is particularly grateful to Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, Dr. K.D. Bajpai, Dr. R.S. Sharma, Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Dr. Ram Gopal, Dr. V.C. Pandey, Dr. G.M. Bhattacharya, Dr. Jai Dev Vidyalankar, Shri R.C. Agrawal, Shri Bhaskaran Nair and Shri Devendra Handa for their kind appreciation and encouragement in his researches. He is also thankful to all his colleagues and friends who have been helpful to him in various ways. His grateful thanks are also due to his Government who have always been kind and considerate in allowing him to attend the sessions of august academic bodies like the All India Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress as an official delegate.

The author is fully conscious of the fact that he could not have undertaken his labour of love in the very limited leisure left from his heavy administrative preoccupations but for the understanding and consideration of one who would like to remain unmentioned, his unassuming wife Yashoda.

Transliteration Table

The system of transliteration followed in the publications of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland has been adopted in these papers.

Salient features are as follows :

ऋ=ṛ   अः=ḥ   ङ्=ṅ
च्=c   छ्=ch   ञ्=ñ
ण्=ṇ   श्=ś   ष्=ṣ

List of Abbreviations

A.B.O.R.I. :	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
A.I.O.C. :	All India Oriental Conference.
Com. Vol. :	Commemoration Volume.
Fel. Vol. :	Felicitation Volume.
H.S.A. :	Haryana Sahitya Akademi, Chandigarh.
J.H.S. :	Journal of Haryana Studies, Kurukshetra University.
J.O.I.B. :	Journal of the Oriental Institute, M.S. University, Baroda.
P.H.C. :	Punjab History Conference, Punjabi University, Patiala.
P.P.P. :	Punjab-Past and Present, Punjabi University, Patiala.
P.U.A.I.H. : *Deptt.* :	Punjab University Ancient Indian History Department.
Purāṇa :	Purāṇa-Bulletin of the Purāṇa Department, Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi.
V.I.J. :	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur.

All other abbreviations are indicated in brackets in the footnotes in the first reference to a work.

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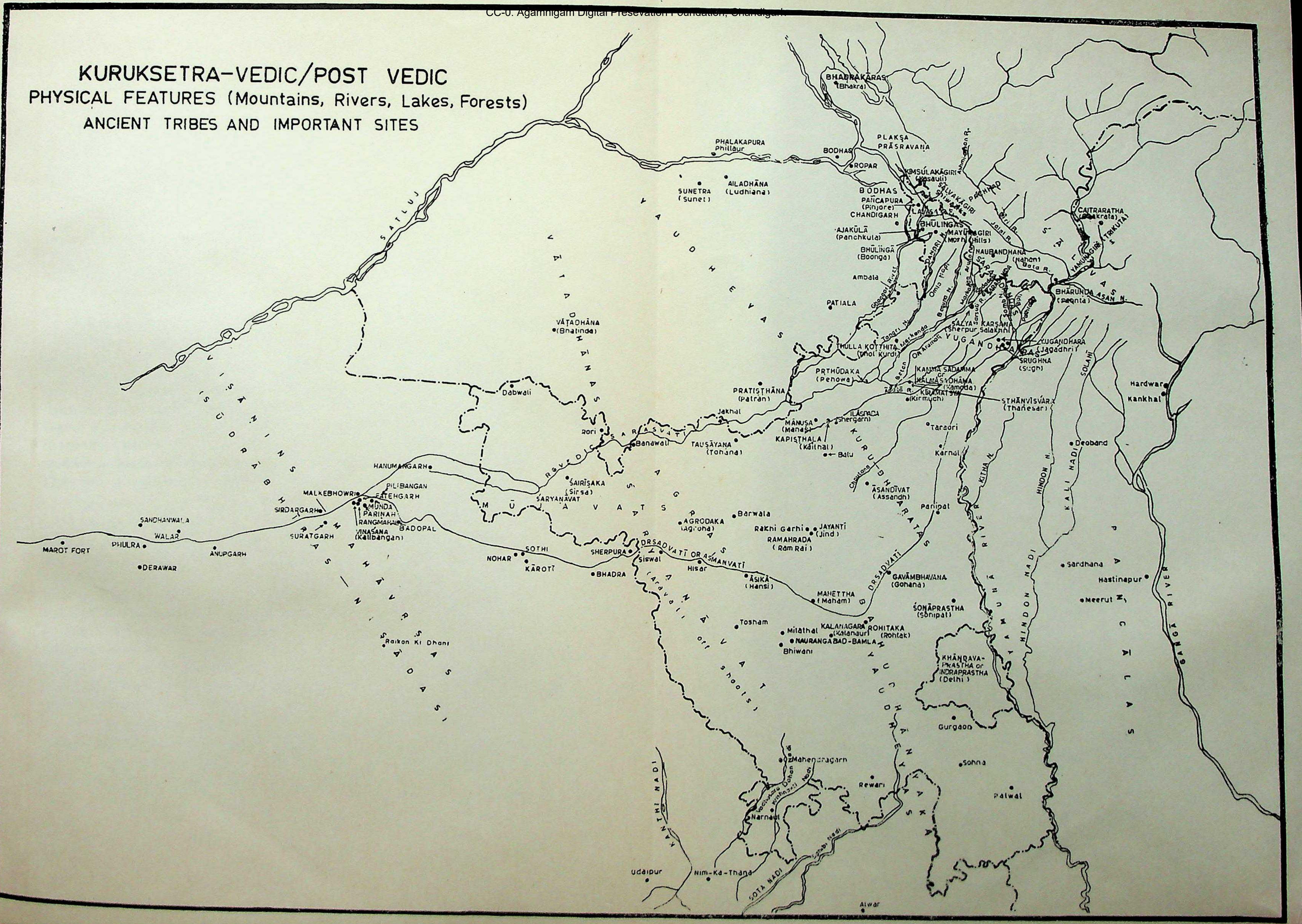
KURUKSETRA–VEDIC/POST VEDIC
PHYSICAL FEATURES (Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Forests)
ANCIENT TRIBES AND IMPORTANT SITES


SATLUJ
BHADRAKARAS (Bhakra)
PHALAKAPURA Phillaur
PLAKSA PRASRAVANA
BODHAS
ROPAR
KIMSULAKAGIRI (Kasauli)
SUNETRA (Sunet)
AILADHANA (Ludhiana)
BODHAS
PANCAPURA (Pinjore)
CHANDIGARH
SALVAKAGIRI
BHULINGAS
AJAKULA (Panchkula)
MAYURAGIRI (Morni Hills)
BHULINGA (Boonga)
CAITRARATHA (Chakrata)
YAMUNGIRI (TRIKUTA)
NAUBANDHANA (Nahan)
Ambala
PATIALA
BHARUNDA (Paonta)
ASAN N.
SALYA (Sherpur)
KARSANA (Salakhni)
YUGANDHARAS
YUGANDHARA (Jagadhri)
SRUGHNA (Sugh)
THULLA KOTTHITA (Thol Kurd)
PRTHUDAKA (Pehowa)
KANMA SADAMMA
KALMASYDHANA (Kamoda)
KIRAMATSYA (Kirmuch)
STHANVISVARA (Thanesar)
VATADHANA (Bhatinda)
VATADHANAS
YAUDHEYAS
Dabwali
PRATISTHANA (Patran)
Jakhal
ILASPADA (Shergarh)
MANUSA (Manas)
KAPISTHALA (Kaithal)
Balu
Taraori
Karnal
Hardwar
Kankhal
Deoband
Rori
SARASVATI
Banawali
TAUSAYANA (Tohana)
KURUS
BHARATAS
VISANINS
SUDRABHIRAS
HANUMANGARH
PILIBANGAN
MALKEBHOWRI
FATEHGARH
SIRDARGARH
MUNDA
PARINAH
RANGMAHAL
VINASANA (Kalibangan)
BADOPAL
SURATGARH
SANDHANWALA
WALAR
PHULRA
MAROT FORT
DERAWAR
ANUPGARH
RGVEDIC
SAIRISAKA (Sirsa)
SARYANAVAT
MUJAVATS
SARYAVATS
AGRODAKA (Agroha)
Barwala
Rakhi Garhi
JAYANTI (Jind)
RAMAHRADA (Ram Rai)
ASANDIVAT (Assandh)
Panipat
NOHAR
SOTHI
KAROTI
BHADRA
SHERPURA
Siswal
Hisar
DRSADVATI OR ASMANVATI
ASIKA (Hansi)
MAHETTHA (Maham)
GAVAMBHAVANA (Gohana)
SONAPRASTHA (Sonipat)
DRSADVATI
ARAVALI (Aravali off shoots)
Tosham
Milathal
KALANAGARA (Kalanaur)
ROHITAKA (Rohtak)
NAURANGABAD-BAMLA
Bhiwani
MAHAVRSAS
Raikon Ki Dhani
SADASI
BAHUDHANYAKA
KHANDAVAPRASTHA or INDRAPRASTHA (Delhi)
YAMUNA RIVER
HINDON NADI
KITHA N.
HINDON N.
KALI NADI
SOLANI
PANCALAS
GANGA RIVER
Sardhana
Hastinapur
Meerut
Gurgaon
Sohna
Palwal
Mahendragarh
Rewari
Narnaul
KANTHI NADI
Udaipur
Nim-Ka-Thana
SOTA NADI
Alwar

1

Naubandhana

The story of the Deluge or the Great Flood is known to most of the ancient civilisations of the world in one form or the other.[1] In Indian literature[2] it first appears in the *Atharvaveda*[3] which refers to a site called Nāvaprabhraṁśana or 'abandoning of the ship',[4] on a Hīmālayan peak where Manu Vaivasvata is supposed to have fastened the boat that saved him during the Great Flood. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[5] presents the first clear Indian account of the Deluge in which Manu is forewarned by a fish and then his boat steers to safety from the catastrophe that destroys all other beings. Here the site where he disembarks finds mention as Manoravasarpaṇa or 'Manu's descent'[6] and is said to be located on the Uttaragiri or 'northern mountain' *i.e.*, the Himālayas.[7]

The account of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is embellished further with minor or major changes in later literature, although it usually retains the escape of Manu[8] from the Flood as its core. The *Mahābhārata*[9] gives the name of Naubandhana or 'the tying of the ship'[10] to the place where Manu fastened his ship when the floor subsided and describes it as the highest peak of Himavat, without pinpointing the location closely. According to this reference, the peak was still known by the name of Naubandhana when the *Mahābhārata* version of the Flood Legend was composed. Of the Purāṇas, the *Bhāgavata*,[11] the *Matsya*[12] and the *Agni*[13] which shift the scene of the Flood to the South, obviously present a much later and modified version.[14] The *Kālikā Purāṇa*[15] account is of interest in as much as it places the Himavat peak, where the boat was tied by Manu (Svāyambhuva) in the west of Gaṅgādvāra, the present Haridvāra.

It is however the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*[16] which is the most specific. Not only does it name Naubandhana as the mountain peak where Viṣṇu in the form of fish tied the boat containing the seeds of all beings but also describes it as the middle one of the group of three peaks, associated with Śiva and having to its north and south peaks named after Brahmā and Viṣṇu respectively.[17] These three peaks lie to the west of Banahal, and Naubandhana, with its height of 15,523 feet,[18] is the westernmost and highest of them.[19]

This identification of Naubandhana would have been acceptable but for the fact that most of the geographical names of Kashmir, as found in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, have been borrowed from other parts of India. It has been rightly observed that the visitors to the valley christened its beautiful spots after the favourite tīrthas of their home states.[20] This explains the existence in Kashmir of names like Prayāga, Gaṅgā, Godāvarī, Puṣkara, Vasiṣṭhāśrama, Bhṛgutuṅga, Pāṇḍavatīrtha, Mandākinī, Vaitaraṇī, Āpagā, Ṛṣikulya, Sarasvatī, Rāmahrada, Varāhatīrtha, Koṭitīrtha and Cakratīrtha *etc.* Indeed this has been acknowledged in the text of the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* itself.[21] The source of much of the nomenclature given in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, which is a late work of the 6th or 7th century A.D.,[22] is thus to be found outside Kashmir. There is no reason to think that Naubandhana is an exception.

It is therefore necessary to turn to more reliable sources starting with the undisputed premise that the names Nāvaprabhraṁśana, Manoravasarpaṇa, and Naubandhana, all refer to one and the same site.

According to the *Atharvaveda*,[23] Nāvaprabhraṁśana was situated on a peak of the Himālayas where the Kuṣṭha (Aucklindia Costus) and the Soma plants grew and the Aśvattha tree (Ficus Religiosa) was also found. These three members of Indian flora had acquired great importance in the life of Vedic Indians. Kuṣṭha has been called 'a universal remedy' and 'the visible manifestation of ambrosia' (*amṛta*) itself.[24] The honour accorded to soma is only too well known to be explained.[25] The holy Aśvattha was in their eyes 'the seat of gods in the third heaven'.[26] Manu himself was considered the progenitor[27] and first ruler[28] of the post-Deluvian human race and the place of his landing after the Great Flood could be considered no less important.

Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya, who had personally witnessed the catastrophe[29] and the sacred river Sarasvatī are also closely connected with the Great Flood which appears to have resulted from a calamitous tectonic-seismic-volcanic upheaval that wrought extensive devastation from the country around the Nahan Shiwaliks and the whole of the Sarasvatī valley in the east to Mesopotamia in the west about B.C. 3000.[30] It led, *inter alia*, to the destruction of Pre-Harappan Kalibangan[31] and the loss of Sarasvatī's catchment area and partial diversion of its waters to other streams including the Mārkandā which probably emerged as an entirely new river. It was named after the great sage who was actually followed by the Sarasvatī.[32] Its two tributaries named Aruṇā-Sarasvatī now called Run Cho[33] and Śaradaṇḍā-Śarāvatī-Sarasvatī now called Sadadeni[34] have also retained their connection with the mother river Sarasvatī.[35] Tradition records a number of episodes which testify to the involvement of the Sarasvatī in the Deluge. Reference may be made to the carrying of *Vāḍavānala* to the western ocean by the Sarasvatī,[36] *Tripuradāha* or the burning of the three Asura strongholds by god Śiva where Sarasvatī provided the track for his chariot;[37] and sage Utathya's drinking of the entire water of the ocean reducing the country to a desert and asking Sarasvatī to go invisible into it.[38]

Naubandhana has thus to be a Himālayan peak[39] suitable for the cultivation of flora like Aśvattha, Soma and Kuṣṭha and associated with Sarasvatī and Mārkaṇḍeya. Although the plant of Soma has not been definitely identified so far, it evidently flourished in the same climate as Kuṣṭha which grows at the height of about 4000 feet in the Central and Eastern Himālayas and from 8000 ft to 12000 ft in Kashmir.[40] The Aśvattha commonly known as *Pipal* grows in the hills up to the height of 5000 ft only.[41] The Naubandhana peak near Banahal is more than 15500 ft in height, so that there is no question of cultivation or natural growth of Kuṣṭha and Soma there, not to speak of Aśvattha. It stands eliminated from consideration even for this reason alone, apart from what has been said above.

There is only one place that fully answers to all these requirements. It is the site of Nahan, capital of the erstwhile state of Sirmur and now a district head-quarters of Himachal Pradesh. It is situated 30°33′ N & 77°20′ E at an elevation of 3,207 ft. on a picturesque range of the outer Himālayas.[42] The old hill state of Sirmur lay between 30°20′ & 31°5′ N & 77°5′ & 77°55′ Eamid the Himālayas south of Simla on the western bank of the Yamunā.[43] The altitudinal range of Sirmur now varies from 1500 ft to 12000 ft[44] and the district abounds in forests, and herbaceous plants.[45] While the Aśvattha can still be seen around Nahan, the altitude of the region agrees well with the possibility of cultivation of Kuṣṭha and Soma at the time of the composition of the relevant Atharvan hymns. It satisfies even the description of the Aśvattha as the seat of the gods in the third heaven because it lies almost in the centre of the region from Plakṣaprāsravaṇa identified with Lavasa in Pachhad tehsil which is the source of the Ghaggar- Sarasvatī to Kārapacava or Plakṣāvataraṇa somewhere in the region of Paonta on the Yamunā which has been equated with Svarga or heaven in Vedic literature[46] and the *Mahābhārata*.[47] And finally the river Mārkandā with its tributary Śaradaṇḍā-Śarāvatī-Sarasvatī skirts the base of the Nahan peak on the east, while its other tributary Aruṇā-Sarasvatī comes to join it from the western flank of the mountain.

Even these facts would suffice to justify the identification of Naubandhana with Nahan, but there are some more considerations which give a decisive touch to this hypothesis.

While describing Kulāntapīṭha or Kulūta (Kullu) country the *Kulāntapīṭha-*

māhātmya places Jālandhara to its south-west, river Beas to its west, Paśupati (Śiva) to its east, the Hemakūṭa mountain to its north and a mountain called Bandhana to its south.[48] On the basis of Hiuen Tsang's evidence Cunningham gives the extent of Kulūta country as 500 miles and records a local tradition according to which the ancient kingdom of Kullu included Mandi and Suket on the west and also a large tract of territory to the south of the Sutlej.[49] In view of this description of Kulūta the mountain of Bandhana should fall almost exactly where the Nahan mountain stands. That Bandhana refers to Naubandhana will not be disputed. Nahan also meets the description of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* as it lies to the west of Gaṅgādvāra.[50] It can rightly be called the Uttaragiri,[51] and Brahmāvarta, the valley of the Sarasvatī, and the heart of Kurukṣetra also called the country of Manu[52] lies at its feet. The fact that the *Kulāntapīṭhamāhātmya* is a late text testifies to the existence of the name Naubandhana till recently. And from its situation and height the site of Nahan would appear to be geographically the most appropriate shelter in a Deluge engulfing the valley of the Sarasvatī and reaching up into the Shiwaliks.

Finally the transition from Naubandhana to Nahan fully satisfies the linguistic considerations by way of an equation through *Naubandhana>Nauandhana>Nadhana>Nahan.*

The crucial significance of this identification becomes clear when it is realised that it invests the Flood Legend with credibility, provides evidence for the historicity of Manu and supports the traditional description of Kurukṣetra as the cradle of civilisation.

Notes and References

1. See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Ed. James Hastings, Edinburgh, 1974), Vol. iv, pp. 545-557.
2. J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts* (2nd Ed. Amsterdam, 1967), Vol. I, pp. 181-220.
3. XIX, 39.8.
4. M. Bloomfield, in *Hymns of the Atharvaveda* (S.B.E., Vol. XLII, Reprint, Delhi, 1973) p. 6 renders it as 'gliding down of the ship'; Griffith in his English translation (Banaras, 1916), Vol. II, p. 296 as 'sinking of the ship' and W.D. Whitney in his English Translation and Notes (Reprint, Delhi, 1962), Vol. II, p. 960 f, as 'no falling downward'. Whitney's refusal to connect the event with the legend of Manu and the Flood is not sound. See Bloomfield, *op. cit.* We find it more proper to take *pra-braṁś* in the sense of 'to abandon'. See Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Reprint, Delhi), p. 769.

5. i. 8.1.
6. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
7. *Ibid.*, n. 39.
8. He is equated with Satyavrata in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 8.24 and with Svāyambhuva in *Kālikā Purāṇa*. 32.34.
9. B.O.R.I. Cr. Ed., *Vana*, 185.47 :

   तच्च नौबन्धनं नाम शृङ्गं हिमवतः परम् ।
   ख्यातमद्यापि कौन्तेय तद्विद्धि भरतर्षभ ॥

10. Tr. by Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
11. Gita Press Ed., viii. 24.10-11.
12. Anandashram Ed., ch. 1 & 2. See also Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 203ff.
13. Ed. Baladeva Upadhyaya, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1966. Ch. 2 & Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 211 f.
14. Cf. A.C. Das, *Ṛgvedic India* (3rd ed. Delhi 1971), p. 211.
15. Ed. Biswanarayana Sastri, Varanasi, 1972, Chapters 32, 33 and 34.
16. Ed. Vreese K. De, Leiden 1936: Ved Kumari, Jammu, 1968 (Vol. II, Text with Eng. Tr.).
17. Vv. 40-41, 164 & 178.
18. M.A. Stein, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Reprint, Delhi, 1979) Vol. II, pp. 389-393.
19. Ved Kumari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 24-25.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
21. V. 126 :

    नानादेशसमुत्थैस्तु ततः प्रभृति मानवैः ।
    षण्मासान् वसते देशः षण्मासान् पिशिताशनैः ॥

22. Ved Kumari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 15; Buhler cited by Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 377.
23. xix. 39.8 :

    यत्र नावप्रभ्रंशनं यत्र हिमवतः शिरः ।
    तत्रामृतस्य चक्षणं तत्र कुष्ठोऽजायत ।
    स कुष्ठो विश्वभेषजः साकं सोमेन तिष्ठति ॥

    and 6: अश्वत्थो देवसदनस्तृतीयस्यामितो दिवि ।...Also V 4.3
24. विश्वभेषजः and अमृतस्य चक्षणं Also see Bloomfield, *op. cit.* pp. 675ff.
25. See *Vedic Index*, Vol. ii, pp. 474 ff.
26. देवसदनस्तृतीयस्यामितो दिवि ।
27. *Atharvaveda*, III. 24.2 :

    इमा याः पञ्च प्रदिशो मानवीः पञ्च कृष्टयः ।

    Mahābhārata (=*MB*) *Vana*, 185.49 :

    मनुना च प्रजाः सर्वाः सदेवासुरमानवाः ।
    स्रष्टव्याः सर्वलोकाश्च यच्चेङ्गं यच्च नेङ्गति ॥

28. All the post-Deluvian ruling dynasties originate from him.
29. *MB*, *Vana*. 186-187 and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 12.8.
30. O.P. Bharadwaj "Vinaśana", paper presented at the A.I.O.C., Santiniketan, 1980 Session.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Vāmana Purāṇa*, ed. A.S. Gupta (Varanasi, 1968), *Saromāhātmya*, 11,23 :

    प्रत्युवाच महात्मानं मार्कण्डेयं महामुनिम् ।
    यत्र त्वं नेष्यसे विप्र तत्र यास्याम्यतन्द्रिता ।।
33. For identification see O.P. Bharadwaj, "From The Sutlej To The Gaṅgā With Vālmīki", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* (*VIJ*), Vol. XIV, pt. ii, (Sept. 1976), pp. 5-6. Aruṇā is called Sarasvati's own form : *MB*, *Śalya* 42.24. (ii).
34. For identification see O.P. Bharadwaj, "Gaṅgā To Ghaggar With Vālmīki", *VIJ.*, Vol. XVII (1979), pp. 9-11.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa*, Ch. 17.
37. *MB*, *Karṇa*, Ch. 24.
38. *MB*, *Anuśāsana*, Ch. 139.
39. Its identification with Shiwalik range lying between Sutlej and Yamunā is too general and vague. See Bechan Dube, *Geographical Concepts In Ancient India* (Varanasi, 1967), p. 91; D.P. Saxena, *Regional Geography Of Vedic India* (Kanpur, 1976), p. 3.
40. Girija Prasanna Majumdar, Vedic Plants, B.C. Law Volume (Calcutta, 1945), pt. i, p. 654.
41. *Sirmur Gazetteer* (Simla, 1969) p. 374.
42. *Imperial Gazetteer Of India* (Oxford, 1908), Vol. XVIII, p. 321.
43. *Ibid.*, Vol. xxiii, p. 21 f.
44. *Sirmur Gazetteer*, p. 8.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
46. *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, 25.10.16 :

    चतुश्चत्वारिंशदाश्वीजानि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् प्लक्षः प्रास्रवणः ।
    तावदितः स्वर्गो लोकः सरस्वतीसम्मितेन अध्वना स्वर्ग लोकं यन्ति ।...

    See also *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 297-298 :

    एष उ ह वै वाचोऽन्तो यत् प्लक्षः प्रास्त्रवणः । यत्रो ह वै वाचोऽन्तस् तत् स्वर्गो लोकः ।

    And also ii 300...ते प्राञ्चो यन्ति समया

    कुरुक्षेत्रम्... तेषा यमुनावभृथः । एष वै स्वर्गो लोको यद् यमुना ।...

    For a detailed discussion on the location of Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa see O.P. Bharadwaj "Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa", A.B.O.R.I. *Diamond Jubilee Volume*, 1977-78, pp. 479-487.
47. *Vana*, 90.4 :

    एतत् प्लक्षावतरणं, यमुनातीर्थमुमत्तम् ।
    एतद्वै नाकपृष्ठस्य द्वारमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।।

48. Hirananda, ASR 1907-08, p. 264 cited by K.K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1974), pp. 76. ff.
49. *Ancient Geography of India* (Ed. S.N. Sastri, Calcutta, 1924), p. 163.
50. 32.34 : विशालां बदरीं यातो गंगाद्वारान्तिकं खलु ।
तत्र गत्वा जगद्धर्ता मनु : स्वायंभुव : स्वयम् ॥
33.61 : (i) ततो : जलप्लवे जाते विध्वस्ते भुवनत्रये ।...
33.68 : तत : शनै : शनैस्तोये शोषं गच्छति वै चिरात् ।
पश्चिमं हिमवच्छंगं सुमग्नं तोयमध्यत: ॥
51. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i.* 8.1.6......
...तदप्येतदुत्तरस्य गिरेर्मनोरवसर्पणमिति ।
52. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 4.19.1. :......
अथादीक्षत राजा तु हयमेधशतेन स: ।
ब्रह्मावर्ते मनो: क्षेत्रे यत्र प्राची सरस्वती ॥

2

Plaksa Prasravana

Writing in 1912 in the *Vedic Index of Names And Subjects*[1] Dr. Keith and Dr. Macdonell[2] explain the expression Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa[3] as "apparently meant to designate the source of the Sarasvatī rather than the place of its reappearance". Dr. Keith however, revised his opinion and in 1921, in *The Cambridge History of India* Vol. I[4] describes it as the place where the river reappears after its disappearance at Vinaśana.

In his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, published much earlier,[5] Monier Williams had favoured the first view. Nando Lal Dey in his *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*[6] and P.V. Kane in his monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra*[7] agree with Monior Williams in defining Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa as the place where the river Sarasvatī took its rise.

The revised view of Dr. Keith has also found its proponents in scholars of equal eminence more recently. Describing the course of the river in the Vedic Age,[8] Dr. Pusalkar mentions Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa as the place of its re-appearance after vanishing at Vinaśana. Dr. B.C. Law in his *Historical Geography of Ancient India*[9] goes a step further and categorically explains it as the place where the Sarasvatī disappears.

The two divergent views have managed to survive almost a hundred years without taking the form of on open controversy. And the scholars subscribing to either view profess to rely on original sources which makes it all the more necessary to enter upon an examination of the subject.[10]

The expression Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa first appears in the Brāhmaṇas and clearly denotes the source of the river Sarasvatī. This connotation is consistently supported in later literature including the Sūtras, the Smṛtīs, the Great Epic, the Purāṇas and even the commentaries on some of these.

Describing the sacrificial session on the Sarasvatī the *Paṇcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[11] says :

> सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते ।। (1)
> प्रतीप यन्ति न ह्यन्वीपमष्ट वै पूर्वेण पक्षसा यन्ति ।। (12)
> चतुश्चत्वारिंशदाश्वीनानि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् प्लक्ष: प्रास्रवण: तावदित : स्वर्गो
> लोक : सरस्वतीसम्मितेन अध्वना स्वर्गं लोकं यन्ति ।। (16)
> यदा प्लक्षं प्रास्रवणम् आगच्छन्त्यथोत्थानम् ।। (21)
> कारपचवं प्रति यमुनामवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति ।। (23)

Dr. Caland[12] translates :

> They (participants of the Sattra) undertake the consecration at the place (*i.e.* to the south of the place) where the (river) Sarasvatī is lost (in the sand of the desert).
>
> They move against the stream, for it is not (possible) to reach 'the term going) along the stream.
>
> At a distance of a journey of forty days on horse back from the spot where the Sarasvatī is lost (in the sands of the desert) (is situated Plākṣa Prāsravaṇa. At the same distance from here (from the earth) is situated) the world of heaven; they go to the world of heaven by a journey commensurate with the Sarasvatī.
>
> At Kārapacava, they descend for the lustral bath into the Yamunā.

Any further attempt at elucidation of the passage would be superfluous in the face of Dr. Caland's lucid rendering. The sacrificers moved upstream along the Sarasvatī and reached Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa after forty days' journey on horseback. Here the Sattra ended and they moved to Kārapacava for descending into the Yamunā for the lustral bath. The region of Plākṣa Prāsravaṇa was thus not far from Yamunā and the passage also says that it was near the world of heaven.

It would therefore be entirely incorrect to say that Plākṣa Prāsravaṇa was the place of reappearance of the Sarasvatī after its having vanished at Vinaśana. On the contrary it was in the opposite direction. As Sāyaṇa[13] explains the Sarasvatī flows westward and the sacrificers travelled eastward against the flow.

Similar description is available in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[14] (II. 297-298) where allegorically Sarasvatī is equated with speech and Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa with heaven itself. The Maruts, desirous of winning the World of Svarga, undertake the Ṣaḍrātra sacrifice on the Sarasvati on its southern bank :

> अथैते षड्रात्रा: । मरुतो वा अकाम्यन्तौजिष्ठा बलिष्ठा भूयिष्ठा वीर्यवत्तमा देवानाम् स्याम, जयेम स्वर्गलोकम् इति । त एतम् षड्रात्रं यज्ञं अपश्यन् ।...तेनायजन्त ।...तेषां सरस्वत्या उपमज्जने

दीक्षा । दक्षिणे तीरे दीक्षन्ते ।। सरस्वत्या यन्ति । वाग् वै सरस्वती । वाग् उ देवयानः पन्थाः । देवयानेनैव तत्पथा यन्ति । प्रतीपं यन्ति । प्रतीपम् इव वै स्वर्गो लोकः । स्वर्गम् एव तल्लोकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते । प्राञ् च उदञ्च् च यन्ति । प्राङ् इव ह वा इदं स्वर्गो लोकः । स्वर्गम् एव तल्लोकं रोहन्तो यन्ति । आ प्रक्षात् प्रास्रवणाद् यन्ति । एष उ ह वै वाचोऽन्तो यत् प्रक्षः प्रास्रवणः । यत्रो ह वै वाचोऽन्तस्, तत् स्वर्गो लोकः । स्वर्गम् एव तल्लोकम् गच्छन्ति ।।

This passage too makes it clear that the journey was towards the east and the north and it involved a climb. It also says that Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa was the upper end of the Sarasvatī or its source. It was indeed the same as the world of heaven. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* II, 300 speaks of the sacrificers taking Dīkṣā at a lake named Parīṇat in the lower region of Kurukṣetra sacrificial altar of the Gods, and then proceeding along this country to reach the Yamunā for the lustral bath. This Yamunā indeed is the world of heaven :

तेषाम् उ तेषाम् परीणद इति कुरुक्षेत्रस्य जघनार्धे सरः स्कन्दन्तम् दीक्षायै । ते प्राञ्चो यन्ति समया कुरुक्षेत्रम् । एतद् वै देवानां देवयजनम् यत् क्षेत्रम् । देवानाम् एव तद्देवयजनेन यन्ति । तेषाम् यमुनावभृथः । एष वै स्वर्गो लोको यद् यमुना । स्वर्गम् एव तल्लोकम् गच्छन्ति ।'...

At another place[15] (III, 150) it describes Kāvya climbing to the world of heaven following the upstream course of the Yamunā. The *Jāiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (IV. 26. 18) says that a small distance to the north of Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa is the centre of the earth while the centre of the skies is in the region of the Saptarṣis.[16]

Among the Sūtras the *Śaṅkhayāna Śrauta Sūtra* (XIII-29)[17] explains the Sārasvata Sacrificial Session in terms almost identical with the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*. Similar descriptions are available in other Śrauta Sūtras like Kātyāyana,[18] Lāṭyāyana[19] and Āśvalāyana.[20] The commentator of the Kātyāyana explains प्लक्षे प्रास्रवणे as सरस्वत्या उत्पत्तिस्थाने. This is justified by the context. Plakṣa-Prāsrvaaṇa and Kārapacava or Kārapavana are both mentioned as names of adjoining regions. Of special interest is the fact that it is specifically ordained in the Kātyāyana that the lustral bath is not to be taken in the Sarasvatī.

The *Manusmṛti* prescribes a journey upstream among the Sarasvatī, while one subsists on sacrificial grains, as a prāyaścitta for the murder of a brāhmaṇa :

हविष्यभुग्वानुसरेत्प्रतिस्त्रोतः सरस्वतीम् ।

Commenting on this Sarvajñanārāyaṇa explains Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa as the upper-end of the river :

प्रतिस्त्रोतः प्रभासमारभ्य प्लक्षप्रस्रवणान्तं यत्र यत्र सरस्वती तत्र तत्र स्रोतो लक्षीकृत्य तीरेण गमनम् . . .

Devala[21] too, while describing the tīrthas along the Sarasvatī, from the beginning to the end of its course, places Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa at the head of the list :

प्लक्षप्रास्रवणं वृद्धकन्याकं सारस्वतमादित्यतीर्थं कौबेरं वैजयन्तं पृथूदकं नैमिषं विनशनं वंशोद्भेदं प्रभासमिति सारस्वतानि ।

The change that has silently crept into the connotation of the term must be noticed here. Till the close of the *Sūtra* period Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa denoted a region near about the source of the Sarasvatī. During the long interval before the composition of the Smṛtis and the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas it came to be known as the name of a tīrtha, a particular sacred place. What is more, a very strong element of myth got mixed up with the name which was taken to signify the spot where the river Sarasvatī "flowed forth from the Plakṣa or the holy fig tree." This is how the name is explained in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas where it finds mention a number of times. Indeed Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa as a specific term gradually ceased to matter. It was the concept that gained currency. So other expressions like Plakṣāvataraṇa or just simple descriptive formations like Plakṣajātā, Plakṣajā or Plakṣavṛkṣātsmudbhūtā came to be used freely.

In the *Mahābhārata Ādiparva* (169, 20) Arjuna names the Plakṣaborn Sarasvatī among the seven streams with the Gaṅgā in his retort to Aṅgāraparṇa Caitraratha the king of the Gandharvas :

गङ्गां च यमुनां चैव प्लक्षजातां सरस्वतीम् ।
रथस्थाँ सरयूं चैव गोमतीं गण्डकीं तथा ।।

Mahābhārata Vanaparva (90,4) says :

तत्र पुण्यतरं तीर्थं प्लक्षावतरणं शुभम् ।
यत्र सारस्वतैरिष्ट्वा गच्छन्त्यवभृथैर्द्विजाः ।।

so also *Vanaparva* (129, 13) :

एतत् प्लक्षावतरणं, यमुनातीर्थमुत्तमम् ।
एतद्वै नाकपृष्ठस्य द्वारमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।।

Here it would be erroneous to construe Plakṣāvataraṇa as a tīrtha of the Yamunā. The intention appears to be to mention Plakṣāvataraṇa alongwith a tīrtha of the Yamunā which may be Kārapavana since, as seen above, both these adjoining regions are on the way to the world of heaven and quite close to it.

The pilgrimage of Balarāma in the *Śalyaparva* (54, 9-12) provides another reference :

ऋषींस्तानभिवाद्याथ पार्श्वे हिमवतोऽच्युतः ।
सन्ध्याकार्याणि सर्वाणि निर्वर्त्यारुरुहेऽचलम् ।। (9)

. . .नातिदूरं ततो गत्वा नगं तालध्वजो बली ॥ (10)
पुण्यं तीर्थवर दृष्ट्वा विस्मयं परमं गतः ।
प्रभावं च सरस्वत्याः प्लक्षप्रस्रवणं बलः ॥ (11)
संप्राप्तः कारपवनं प्रवरं तीर्थमुत्तमम् . . .(12)

Here too Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa is called the source of the Sarasvatī, and a holy tīrtha in the lap of the Himalayas not very far from Kārapavana, a tīrtha on the Yamunā. In the *Vanaparva* list of tīrthas (84, 4-7) it finds mention again in its explanatory form, being placed in or near the Saugandhikavana while the water of the Sarasvatī is described as coming out of an ant-hill, introducing another myth :

. . . सौगन्धिकवनं राजंस्ततो गच्छेत मानवः ॥ 4
. . . ततश्चापि सरिच्छ्रेष्ठा नदीनामुत्तमा नदी ।। 6
प्लक्षाद्देवी स्रुता राजन् महापुण्या सरस्वती ।
तत्राभिषेकं कुर्वीत वल्मीकान्निःमृते जले ।।

The description in the Purāṇas closely follows that in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Brahmāṇḍa*[22] (2, 3, 13, 69) names it among the tīrthas of the Sarasvatī where Śrāddha should be performed :

सरस्वत्यां विनशने प्लक्षप्रस्रवणे तथा ।
व्यासतीर्थे दृषद्वत्यां त्रिप्लक्षे च विशेषतः ॥

Vāmanapurāṇa (42, 7 & 23, 13) uses the descriptive mode of reference :

प्लक्षवृक्षात्समुद्भूता सरिच्छ्रेष्ठा सनातनी ।
सर्वपापक्षयकरी स्मरणादेव नित्यशः ॥
तत्र देवीं ददर्शाथ पुण्यां पापविमोचनीम् ।
प्लक्षजां ब्रह्मणः पुत्रीं हरिजिह्वां सरस्वतीम् ॥

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (23, 28) mentions it as Plakṣāvataraṇa,[23] calling it a place of pilgrimage of Sarasvatī on the Himavat mountain where the Nāga king Aśvatara repairs to propitiate the goddess Sarasvatī with his invocations.

The tradition regarding the closeness of Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa to the world of heaven is echoed later in the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas and even in local traditions. According to the *Mahābhārata* the great mountain Meru stands surrounding the Svarga with its heights.[24] It is the everlasting abode of God and the sun and moon along with all other luminaries move round it perpetually.[25] From its peak flows into the lake of the moon the milk-white stream of the sacred Gaṅgā.[26] Climbing the great Himalayas in their ultimate trek northward the Pāṇḍavas see the Mt. Meru and soon afterwards Śakra comes in his chariot to offer a lift to the surviving Yudhiṣṭhira.[27] The Meru has been identified with the Rudra Himalaya in Garhwal near Badarikāśrama where the Gaṅgā has its source. All local traditions fix Mt. Meru direct to the north of Almora district of Garhwal.[28] Alberuni on the authority of Āryabhaṭa places Mt. Meru in the Himalayas.[29] He also mentions pond Viṣṇupada near Mt. Niṣadha, which too must be in the Himalayas,[30] as the source of Sarasvatī.[31]

The earliest tradition regarding the proximity of Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa to the Yamunā and the world of heaven is thus more or less faithfully reflected in the references scattered in old Sanskrit literature. Now, what does it literally mean? Plakṣa[32] may mean :

(i) The holy fig tree;

(ii) A side door;

and Prāsravaṇa[33] :

(i) a spring;

(ii) gushing; streaming or flowing forth; and

(iii) oozing.

Plākṣa Prasravaṇa may thus denote the region where the Sarasvatī took its rise in the form of :

(i) a spring near a holy fig tree;

(ii) a very thin stream like an oozing from a fig tree; and

(iii) a spring gushing forth from an opening like a small door in the side of the mountain.

A fig tree is an unusual sight on the hills, but for this very reason its existence near the source of the sacred river would invest it with special significance for inclusion in the name. It would therefore be idle to prefer any one of these meanings to the other.

The account can be summed up as follows :

(i) The term Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa was originally applied to the region where the Vedic river Sarasvatī took its rise at the time of the composition of the Brāhmaṇas. Later it came to denote the spot where the Sarasvatī flowed forth from Plakṣa or the holy fig tree and even an ant-hill.

(ii) The region was in the smaller hills, evidently the Shiwaliks about 40 days' journey on horse-back upstream the Sarasvatī from Vinaśana or the place of its disappearance in the Rajputana sands.

(iii) It adjoined the region or Kārapavana near the river Yamunā to which the sacrificers could travel for their lustral bath after reaching it.

(iv) It fell on the way to mount Meru on which, the world of heaven was supposed to be located.

(v) For some very strong reason the water of the Sarasvatī in Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa was not considered fit for the lustral bath undertaken on completion of the sacrificial session. Instead the sacrificer was required to move to the Yamunā, which though not very far, might well have involved one or two days' march.

All these factors will have to be taken into account in any attempt towards identifying the region of Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa.

Notes and References

1. Oxford 1912, Reprint, Delhi 1967, Vol. II, p. 55.
2. Keith collected the material while Macdonell chiefly acted as an editor to whose judgement the former deferred in case of difference of opinion. Vide Preface to Vol. I, p. vii.
3. Also called Plākṣa Prasravaṇa.
4. Ed. E.J. Rapson, London 1921, III Reprint, Delhi 1968, p. 105.
5. First Ed. Oxford 1872, Reprint, Delhi, p. 714.
6. First Ed. 1927, Reprint, Delhi 1971, p. 180.
7. Vol. IV, Poona 1953, pp. 558 and 791.
8. *History And Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, Ed. Dr. R.C. Majumdar, Bombay, First Ed. 1951, IV Impression 1965, p. 255.
9. First Ed. Paris 1954. Hindi Translation, Lucknow 1972, p. 588.
10. In the *ABORI*, Vol. LV, 1975, pp. 212-18, D.V. Chauhan (HĀMŪN and JAWŪL) has proposed the questionable equation : Hāmūn=Jāwūl=Zabul=Sāmanā=Plakṣa=Vinaśana and construed Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa as the geographical phenomenon of sandy plain where rivers disappear. Chauhan's hypothesis is based on assumptions and interpretations which are too obviously unwarranted to necessitate an independent detailed examination. It is easily disposed of as we proceed to the conclusion of this paper.
11. *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, Banares 1936, 25.10.1-23. Only relevant portions are quoted.
12. Dr. W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, Eng. Translation and Notes, Calcutta 1931, pp. 634, 636-37.
13. प्रत्यङ्मुखी खलु सरस्वती प्रवहति अतस्तद्दक्षिणे कूले प्रतीपं प्रतिलोमं प्राञ्चो यन्ति ।।
14. Ed. Raghuvira and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur 1954, p. 288.

15. ...उक्ष्णो वै रन्ध्रः काव्योऽकामयताद्भिः प्रतीपं स्वर्गम् लोकम् आरोहेयम्...
स ह स यमुनयैव प्रतीपं स्वर्गम् लोकम् आरोहत् ।।

16. Ed. Pt. Rama Deva, Lahore 1921, p. 152 :

प्लक्षस्य प्रास्रवणस्य प्रादेशमात्रादुदक् तत् पृथिव्यै मध्यम् ।
अथ यत्रैते सप्तर्षयः तद्दिवो मध्यम् ।

Chauhan (*op. cit.*) mistakes उदक् as उदक and wrongly translates it as 'water' instead of 'north' even while spelling it correctly.

17. Dr. W. Caland, English Translation, Nagpur 1953, p. 368 f.

18. Ed. A. Weber, Chowkhamba, Banares 1972, with commentaries of Karka and Yajñikadeva, XXIV, 7-22 :

अग्नये कामायेष्टिः प्लक्षे प्रास्रवणे ।। (7)
अवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति यमुनां कारपचवं प्रति ।। (10)
Com. कारपचवो देशविशेषः तन्मध्ये यमुना वर्तते...
नावभृथम् सरस्वत्याम् ।। (22)

19. Sārasvata Sattra, X. 17, 12-14 :

यदा प्लक्षंप्रास्रवणमागच्छन्ति अथोत्थानमिति ।।...
प्लक्षं प्रास्रवणमागम्य पुरस्तादतिरात्रस्याग्नये कामायेष्टिः स्यादिति शण्डिन्यः ।।...

20. Ānandāśrama Series, Ed. S. R. Gokhale, with the com. of Nārāyaṇa, 1917, pp. 443-6,XII, 6: अथ सारस्वतानि । सारस्वत्याः पश्चिमे उदकान्ते दीक्षेरन् । ते तत्रैव दीक्षोपसदः कृत्वा प्रायणीयं च सरस्वतीं दक्षिणेन तीरेण शम्याप्रासे शम्याप्रासे अहरहर्यजमाना अनुव्रजेयुः ।...अथोत्थानानि । प्लाक्षं प्रस्रवणं प्राप्योत्थानम् । (Com. इमं देशं प्राप्योत्थानमेव कर्तव्यम्...) ते यमुनायां कारपचवेऽवभृथमभ्युषेयुः । (Com. अस्मिन् देशेऽवभृथं कुयु . .,

21. Quoted in *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara, Ed. K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, G.O.S. Baroda 1942, p. 250.

22. Ed. I.L. Shastri, Delhi 1973.

23. Pargiter rightly explains Plakṣāvataraṇa as the place "where the R. Sarasvatī takes its rise", vide the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, English Translation with notes, Calcutta, 1904, Reprint, Delhi 1969, p. 127, n.

24. *Ādi*. 17, 5-7.

ज्वलन्तमचलं मेरूं तेजोराशिमनुत्तमम् ।...5
...नाकमावृत्य तिष्ठन्तमुच्छ्रयेण महागिरिम् ।।7.

25. *Vana* 163, 26-28 :

स्थानमेतन्महाभाग ध्रुवमक्षयमव्ययम् ।
ईश्वरस्य सदा ह्येतत् प्रणमात्र युधिष्ठिर ।।
एनं त्वहरहर्मेरूं सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ ध्रुवम् ।

प्रदक्षिणमुपावृत्य कुरुत: कुरुनन्दन ।।
ज्योतींषि चाप्यशेषेण सर्वाण्यनघ सर्वत: ।
परियान्ति महाराज गिरिराजं प्रदक्षिणम् ।।

26. *Bhīṣma*, 6, 28-29 :

तस्य शैलस्य शिखरात् क्षीरधारा नरेश्वर ।
विश्वरूपा परिमिता भीमनिर्घातनि:स्वना ।।
पुण्यापुण्यतमैर्जुष्टा गङ्गा भागीरथी शुभा ।
प्लवन्तीव प्रवेगेन ह्रदे चन्द्रमस: शुभे ।।

27. *Mahāprasthānika*, 2, 1-2 and 3-1 :

ततस्ते नियतात्मान उदीचीं दिशमास्थिता ।
ददृशुर्योगयुक्ताश्च हिमवन्तं महागिरिम् ।।
तं चाप्यतिक्रमन्तस्ते र ददृशुर्वालुकार्णवम् ।
अवेक्षन्त महाशैलं मेरूं शिखरिणां वरम् ।।
...तत: सन्नादयञ्शक्रो दिवं भूमिं च सर्वश: ।
रथेनोपययौ पार्थमारोहेत्यब्रवीच्च तम् ।।

28. Dey, N.L., *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medievel India*, Reprint, Delhi 1971, pp. 196-197.
29. Vol. I. 246.
30. Raychaudhari, H.C., *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, Calcutta 1958, p. 93.
31. II. 142.
32. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*
33. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*

3

More On Plaksa Prasravana

The information brought together from literary sources in our article on Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa in *ABORI* : Diamond Jubilee Volume (pp. 479 to 487) can be summed up as follows :

(i) The term Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa was originally applied to the region where the Vedic river Sarasvatī took its rise at the time of the composition of the Brāhmaṇas. Later, it came to denote the spot where the Sarasvatī flowed forth from Plakṣa or the holy fig tree and even an ant-hill.

(ii) The region was in the smaller hills, evidently the Shiwaliks, about 40 days' journey on horse-back upstream the Sarasvatī from Vinaśana or the place of its disappearance in the Rajputana sands.

(iii) It fell on the way to mount Meru on which, the world of heaven was supposed to be located.

(iv) For some very strong reason the water of the Sarasvatī in Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa was not considered fit for the lustral bath undertaken on completion of the sacrificial session. Instead the sacrificer was required to move to the Yamunā which, though not very far, might well have involved one or two days' march.

These points should be helpful in identifying the region of Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa. But something equally interesting may be noticed before that.

Philology throws welcome light on the linguistic evolution of the word Prāsravaṇa from an unexpected direction. Pushtu, Pakshto or Pakkhto, the language of the Afghans has inherited a considerable part of its vocabulary from Sanskrit and Prakrits apart from Avesta, Arabic and Persian. Numerous Pushtu forms can, therefore, be easily traced to their originals in Sanskrit and Prakrits.[1]

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This applies most fittingly in case of Prāsravaṇa which survives in the form Pachhāḍa in modern Pahari as well as in Pushtu, probably through the equation : Prasravaṇa > Pasravaḍa > Pasrāḍa > Pachhāḍa.

Pachhāḍa is the name of a region and tehsil in the northern portion of district Nahan in Himachal Pradesh[2] and it agrees well with the likely region of the source of Sarasvatī. Now Pachhāḍa in Pushtu denotes "land irrigated by small streams,"[3] which is undoubtedly the significance of the name of the above region in Nahan. In this tehsil again is a reserved forest called Lawasa after a small village of this name. Although it is a Chil forest there are two big Pipal trees at two places on the ridge. People have made platforms around these trees to preserve them.[4] This fact allows the possibility of presence of Plakṣa trees, which belong to the same family, in this region in ancient times and it also points to the probable linguistic equation of Lawasa with Plakṣa through : Palas > Valasa > Lavāsa > Lavāsā.[5] The phonetic and linguistic similarity of the expressions Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa and Lavasa-Pacchāḍa is too striking and too obvious to be accidental.

Other factors enumerated above are also fully satisfied in this identification. Lawasa in Pachhad is situated 77°.9′ E by 30°.42′ N in lower mountains and the place should not be more than about two days' journey from Kārapavana and the Yamunā which fell on the way to Meru. It is the source of the river Ghaggar which is undoubtedly the old Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī.[6] This is naturally the most crucial factor for the identification and precludes any scope for doubt, since the source of the Ghaggar has to be the source of the Sarasvatī too. Finally the water of the river in this region is known to be unfit for use. The river Ghaggar, according to the *Sirmur Gazetteer*,[7] rises near Lawasa in this district. It flows in the westerly direction and whole of southern slope of Dharti Dhar upto Lawasa drains into this river. It flows for about 12.8 km. in Pachhad tehsil of this district before it enters Haryana near Prit Nagar. It was believed that in or near the hills when its water was used for drinking it produced disastrous results causing ailments like fever, enlarged spleen and goitre. The observation regarding the harmful effects of its water is based on the *Imperial Gazetteer*[8] which further says that "families are indeed said to die out in the fourth generation, and the villages along its banks are greatly underpopulated. Only the prospects of obtaining exceptional returns for their labours can induce cultivators to settle in such an unhealthy region." Little wonder then that the Sūtras and their commentators forbid the lustral bath in the Sarasvatī at Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa and instead enjoin it upon the sacrificer to travel further and have it in the Yamunā.

All these considerations strengthen the identification of Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa with Lawasa Pacchada, but, of course, it must be remembered that originally the Sarasvatī was a huge perennial river rising in the higher Himalayas and its source shifted to Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa only around the Brāhmaṇa period as a result of a fierce seismic-tectonic upheaval in the region which probably took place some time after the compilation of the *Ṛgveda.*

Notes and References

1. Edward Balfour, *Encyclopaedia Asiatica,*: 9 vols. Reprint Delhi, 1976. Vol. III, p. 319. Also *Encyclopaedia Britanica* 1962 Ed. Vol. 18, p. 783.
2. *Sirmur Gazetteer*, Simla, 1969, pp. 2 and 91 and passim.
3. Balfour : *op. cit.* p. 69.
4. Here is the relevant extract from the letter dated January 11, 1977 of Shri R.C. Kaushik, Chief Conservator of Forests, Himachal Pradesh, Simla, to the author :
    (i) "Lawasa is a name of forest associated with a tiny village. It is quite an extensive area.
    (ii) It is a chief forest. There are no fig trees, but on the ridge at two places, there are two big Pipal trees. People have made platforms around these trees and these are preserved."
5. The evolution from Valasa to Lavasa, involving the interchange of *va* and *la* is the result of the well known Philological process of Metathesis.
6. Spate O.H.K. & Others. *India, Pakistan and Ceylon—The Regions*, New Delhi 1972, p. 536. For fresh light on the identification of Sarasvatī see O.P. Bharadwaj, "Gaṅgā to Ghaggar with Vālmīki" *Vishweshwaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. XVII (1979), pp. 142-167.
7. pp. 11-12.
8. Oxford 1908, Vol. XII, p. 213.

4

Identification of Vinasana and some Consequential Observations

Medieval Sanskrit Lexicons[1] define Vinaśana as the place where the Ṛgvedic river Sarasvatī, identified with the present Ghaggar,[2] disappears in the sands or vanishes underground.

Although once a perennial river[3] the Sarasvatī was later reduced to a rainy season torrent which dries up in the sands of Rajasthan just beyond the boundary of Haryana. From the earliest times it was treated as the holiest of the holy among rivers and the Ṛgvedic poet not only defied it but also accorded to it the foremost place among goddesses in the epithet *Devītamā.*[4] The holiness of the river was naturally associated with the place of its disappearance also and Vinaśana came to be regarded among the foremost of the *tīrthas* of this country and commended specially for the performance of *Śrāddha* and for the commencement of the long *Śārasvata* and *Dārshadvata* sacrificial sessions.[5] Devala, quoted in the *Kṛityakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara[6] includes it among the noted *tīrthas* of the Sarasvatī. In the *Mahābhārata*[7] and the *Purāṇas*[8] also it finds mention at many places.

The earliest notice of Sarasvatī's disappearance in the desert however, goes back to the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*[9] which is considered the creative age of the sacrificial cult.[10] It is also mentioned in the *Kalpasūtras* which are chiefly concerned with giving a succinct and systematic account of the Vedic sacrifices and customs prevalent at the time of their composition.[11] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[12] records an incident when the *Ṛishis* expelled Kavasha Ailūsha from a Soma sacrifice being performed on the Sarasvatī with the intention that he should die of thirst in the desert. The *Śatapaṭha Brāhmaṇa*[13] also contains a similar reference in the episode of another sacrifice performed by the gods in Kurukṣetra. Here the gods are said to have declared that the ant would gnaw the bow-string of Viṣṇu would be granted constant enjoyment of food and he would find water even in the desert. Evidently the venue of the sacrifice in both the cases was at or near the spot where the river had no water in it. The *Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa*[14] is more specific in naming Vinaśana as the place of consecration (*dīkshā*) for the *Sārasvata* and *Dārṣhadvata* sacrificial sessions which were to be performed while moving upstream along the river. It is therefore wrong to say that the idea of Vinaśana or the drying up of the Sarasvatī corresponds to a later stage of the Epic Geography[15] or to a recent upheaval in the Himalayas around Mohammedan times.[16]

Before undertaking an examination of such references for ascertaining the geographical position of Vinaśana it deserves to be noted that as a place-name it did not always remain confined to a particular spot or locality and came to denote a region and even a whole Janapada.[17] The reason was that the site of disappearance of the river kept continuously shifting with gradually shortening course as the rainfall decreased on the lower Himalayan slopes.[18] According to O.H.K. Spate[19] the flow even now during rains normally ceases at Hanumangarh, occasionally extending for another 16 miles or so. This appears to find support from the *Mahābhārata*[20] which, immediately before mentioning Vinaśana, names a *tīrtha* called *Dīrghasattra* as the place where the gods, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Sīddhas* and *Ṛishis* commenced their long sacrificial sessions. As already noted this honour was reserved for Vinaśana in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūdras*. The apparent contradiction is easily resolved with the inference that when the site of Vinaśana had shifted upstream the sacrificial sessions for some time continued to be started from the earlier spot which having lost its real name, got the appellation of *Dīrghasattra* meaning "(the site of) long sacrificial session". The *Padmapurāṇa*[21] also reminds us of the same phenomenon when it locates the site of Vinaśana as far downstream as *Pushkarāraṇya*. So does Śrīdharasvāmī[22] (*c.* 400 A.D.) in his commentary on the *Bhagavata Purāṇa* (i. 9.1) while locating Vinaśana in Kurukṣetra itself. There is however no doubt that during the age of composition of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūdras* at least, when the cult of sacrifice was at its climax, the name of Vinaśana stuck to one particular locality which almost constantly remained humming with all sorts of sacrificial activity. As we shall see it is possible to attempt a precise geographical identification of this site with the help of literary references and a most remarkable piece of evidence thrown up by Archaeology.

It would be more convenient to proceed from the general to the particular.

The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*[23] defines *Āryāvartta* as the country lying to the past of *Adarśana* (which is the same as Vinaśana) west of *Kālakavana*, south of the Himalayas and north of *Pāriyātra*. The *Vāśishṭha Dharmsūtra*[24] repeats the definition almost verbatim with *Adarśa* in place of *Adarśana*. So does the *Mahābhāshya* of Patāñjali.[25] In the *Manusmṛiti Kālakavana* is replaced with *Prayāga* while applying the same geographical definition to *Madhyadeśa* which is equated with *Āryāvartta*.[26] This is repeated in the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra[27] and the *Kāvyamīmānsā* of Rājaśekhara[28] who also describes another more central region, which he calls *Antarvedī*, as lying between *Vinaśana* and *Prayāga* and *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*.[29] Purushottamadeva[30] equates Kurukṣetra with *Vinaśana* and *Śabdakalpadruma*[31] places it in the north-west of Hastināpura. The use of Vinaśana loosely in place of Kurukṣetra occurs even in the *Bhāgvatapurāṇa* where Bhīshma is said to have fallen in *Vinaśana*[32] and Balarāma mentioned as going to *Vinaśana* to forestall the mace-duel between Bhīma and Duryodhana.[33] Apparently it suggests the increasing importance of *Vinaśana*.

All these references, without exception place *Vinaśana* on the western limit of *Āryāvartta* or *Madhyadeśa*. The *Mahābhārata* also points to the same direction in locating it more precisely on the top of the desert.[34] It strengthens the idea further by placing the disappearance of the river short of the country of the *Śudras* and *Ābhīras* as well as the *Nishādas* [35] These tribes are generally taken as inhabiting the left bank of the Indus around the Uch-Khanpur region of Bahawalpur.[36] The *Śūdras* are identified with the *Sodrai* of the Greeks and they occupied northern Sind with contiguous portions of the Punjab (Mithankot area) and the Bahawalpur state below the confluence of the Punjab rivers.[37] The royal seat of the *Ābhīras* stood on the Indus.[38] The region called *Abiria* after them, in the *Periplus* of the *Erythrian Sea* comprised a portion of western Rajputana.[39] And the *Nishādas* according to Bühler, occupied the area around Bhatner.[40]

Generally speaking therefore, it would be correct to assign *Vinaśana* to the northern part of the Rajasthan desert.[41] Yet it is interesting to see how widely scholars can manage to differ even while not trying to be too specific.

To note some of the views in this regard S.K. Belvalkar[42] describes *Vinaśana* as the desert in Ambala and Sirhind while Wadia[43] calls it the sands of the Bikaner desert. Rahul Sānkrityāyana[44] locates it not far from the confluence of the Chenab and the Sutlej and even the Indus. Nandolal Dey,[45] B.C. Law,[46] and D.C. Sircar[47] agree with Oldham[48] in placing it near Sirsa. Krishnan,[49] Godbole[50] and Saxena[51] follow the Ambala District Gazetteer[52] in identifying it with Bhatner which is the same as Hanumangarh.[53] H.C. Raychaudhuri vaguely puts it near the tract in the lower Indus valley and western Rajputana while M.L. Bhargava[54] finds it somewhere above Sardargarh and probably at or about Suratgarh. The *Vedic Age*[55] like the *Vedic Index*[56] confines it to Patiala district and Indra[57] places it in the Khadal tract about the Derawar Fort in Cholistan Tehsil in Bhawalpur District in Pakistan.

Actually if we examine the available literary evidence closely we find little justification for such divergence of opinions.

According to the *Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa*[58] anyone undertaking a *Sārasvata* sacrificial session got initiated at *Vinaśana* and then moved upstream along the eastern bank of the Sarasvatī towards its source at *Plakshaprāsravaṇa* where the session was supposed to end followed by the *Avabhṛtha* or the lustral bath in the *Yamunā*. *En route* at the river's confluence with the *Dṛishadvatī* one crossed the latter to regain the eastern bank of the Sarasvatī for resuming one's advance upstream. Likewise for the *Dārshadvata* sacrificial session one was required to follow up from the point of the confluence the eastern bank of the *Dṛishadvatī* and ultimately to terminate the session after a lustral bath at *Triplakshāvaharaṇa* on the *Yamunā*. One was to consecrate one's fires at *Pariṇah* before starting upstream along the *Dṛishadvatī*. According to the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[59] *Pariṇah* was the name of a lake in the lower half of Kurukṣetra while the *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[60] takes it to represent 'risen ground'. The *Taittirīya Araṇyaka*[61] and the *Kātyāna Śrauta Sūtra*[62] appear to support the second view which is obviously more acceptable.

From this it becomes quite clear that *Vinaśana* was the site of disappearance of the combined stream of the two rivers and therefore naturally further downstream from the confluence rather than above it as wrongly suggested by Oldham[63] and some other scholars. This position is fully confirmed from the order of enumeration of *tīrthas* in the *Vanaparva*[64] of the *Māhābhārata* where the mention of *Vinaśana* is followed upstream by that of *Śaśayāna*, *Kumārakoṭi*, *Rudrakoṭi*, *Saṅgama* and *Kurukshetra*. Evidently the *Saṅgama* was considered the gate of *Kurukshetra* when equated with *Brahmāvrta* lying in the *Sarasvatī-Dṛishadvatī* doab.[65] We need not concern ourselves with other *tīrthas* named here but the location of *Vinaśana* a few stages below the confluence is left in no doubt.

At one place[66] the *Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa* gives the exact distance from *Vinaśana* to *Plakshaprāsravaṇa* as 40 *Āśvīnas* or 40 days' journey by horse which should make it possible to pinpoint the site once the identification of *Plakshāprāsravaṇa*[67] with the source of the Ghaggar around *Lavasa* reserved forest in Pacchad sub-division of district Nahan in Himachal Pradesh[68] is accepted. But it is not possible to exploit this information on account of the uncertainty about the connotation of the term *Āśvīna*[69] which literally denotes the distance covered by a horse in one day. While the *Atharvaveda*[70] makes it equal to 5 *Yojanas* Kauṭilya[71] puts it at 5, 7-2 or 10 *Yojanas* and Patañjali[72] at 4 or 8 *Yojanas* according to the quality and capacity of the horse. 4 *Krośas* or 9 miles make one *Yojana*[73] and going by the *Atharvaveda* one *Āśvīna* comes to 5×9=45 miles which should appear reasonable as the distance covered by a horse in one day. The snag however is that the total distance of 40 *Āśvīnas* multiplies to 1800 miles from the source of the Ghaggar to its disappearance in the Hanumangarh-Suratgarh tract which exceeds the actually measured distance of 290 miles[74] by far too big a margin to be of any help whatsoever.

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A reference to old regional maps offers better hope. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India Atlas*[75] shows the confluence of the Ghaggar with an old dry bed of a river that could be none but the *Dṛishadvatī*, a couple of stages downstream from Hanumangarh and a little above Suratgarh. Another earlier map of the Punjab compiled officially in 1863[76] also marks the confluence around the same position with a welcome addition of the name of a village Malke Bhowri just on the site. This would suggest that the river disappeared in the sands a little below this village and somewhat short of Suratgarh which goes well with the conclusions reached above from literacy evidence.

It would be relevant at this stage to see if these literary sources make any mention of the event that led to the disappearance of the *Sarasvatī* which according to the *Ṛigveda* was the river par excellence, rushing down from the mountains right upto the ocean[77] with a tempestuous roar,[78] breaking and carrying down ridges of hills like lotus stems,[79] filling the realms of earth and the wide tract of the firmament,[80] superior to her companions,[81] surpassing all other rivers by her majesty[82] and glory,[83] fierce,[84] swiftest of the swift[85] mightiest of her class,[86] best of rivers,[87] best of mothers,[88] and even best of goddesses.[89] There is not a word in the *Ṛgveda* that could suggest any decline in this awe-inspiring grandeur of the sacred river. The *Atharvaveda*[90] however alludes to the great Deluge that took place in the time of Manu Vaivasvata in the reference to the "sliding down of the ship." Subsequently the Great Deluge is described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[91] and later in the *Mahābhārata*[92] and the *Purāṇas*[93] where the site of *Nāvaprabhramśana* finds mention as *Manoravasarpaṇa* and *Naubandhana* intended to represent the mountain peak where Manu tied his boat and first stepped on dry soil after the calamitous event.

There is reason to conclude that according to traditional belief it was the Great Deluge that led to the disappearance of the Sarasvatī in the sands as a result of diversion of its waters and loss of its catchment area. The *Purāṇas*[94] describe the conveying of *Agni-Vaḍavānala* to the western ocean at the instance of God Brahmā by his daughter Sarasvatī who flowed underground and surfaced only when she felt exhausted on account of the unbearable heat.[95] In one case this fire was created by *Ṛishi* Pippalāda for destruction of gods who had utilised the bones of his father Dadhīci for manufacturing weapons for killing the demons.[96] Emerging from *Plaksha* on the Himālaya, Sarasvatī is obstructed on its way by a mountain wanting to marry her forcibly. Under the pretext of taking bath before the ceremony Sarasvatī entrusts the fire to the mountain which is immediately burnt down by it.[97] This is said to have happened in the *Chākshusha Manvantara.*[98] Again in the *Vaivaśvata Manvantara* the same fire is born as Aurvānala to a woman belonging to the tribe of the *Bhṛigus* who were attacked and plundered by Kshatriyas. The woman was pregnant and escaped concealing the foetus in her thigh (*Ūru*) which gave the name *Aurvānala* to the fire that started consuming the earth immediately on its emergence.[99] According to another version the woman gave birth to *Ṛishi* Aurva who created the fire which was named after him. The fire created for destruction of the Haihaya Kshatriyas who had indulged in large-scale slaughter of the Bhṛigus was however confined to the ocean by Sarasvatī.[100] Sarasvatī is said to have conveyed *Aurvānala* in a golden pitcher and taking its rise at *Pippalādāśrama* in the Himalayas it flowed westward reaching *Kedāra* where it pierced the earth's crust to go underground burning with the fire in her hands.[101] It broke forth again at *Bhūtiśvara* after passing the evil region and then flowed towards *Prabhāsa* passing through *Śrīkaṇṭhadeśa*, *Kurukshetra*, *Virāṭanagara*, *Gopāyanagiri*, *Kharjūrīvana*, *Mārkaṇḍāśrama* and *Arbudāraṇya*, *etc.*[102] The *Skanda-purāṇa* predicts the birth of another *Vaḍavānala* at the end of the current *Manvantara*[103] and thus implies a connection between *Vaḍavānala* and the Deluge that is traditionally associated with the end of a *Manvantara*.

Although the *Vaḍavānala* episode is related in several versions in different sources[104] its essential features do not suffer any serious change. Some interesting points deserve special notice here. Firstly the river *Sarasvatī* which conveyed the fire to the western ocean flowed through the country of *Kurukshetra* which is specifically mentioned along with *Srīkaṇṭhadeśa* which comprised its northern part[105] and *Virāṭanagara* which lay to its southwest near Jaipur.[106] Secondly the *Bhṛigus*, with whom *Aurvānala* is associated, occupied the lower part of *Kurukshetra* in ancient times as the tradition of construction of five pools with the blood of the cruel Kshatriyas at Rāmahrada, present Ram Rai near Jind, by Paraśurāma suggests.[107] Thirdly the text mentions the emergence of the burning *Aurva* after a violent eruption in *Kurudeśa*[108] which is most befitting because while the concealment of the foetus in or its birth from the thigh (*Ūru*) is obviously mythical the emergence of one of the *Bhṛigus*, after lying low for some time in *Kurudeśa*, to avenge the slaughter of his people is most natural. The hoary antiquity and commonness of the venue of the two events is undoubtedly the only explanation of the introduction of the *Bhṛigus* in the *Vaḍavānala* episode. And finally the upheaval was volcanic in nature that engulfed *Kurudeśa* and the mountain range to its north and drastically tampered with the source and course of the *Sarasvatī* which flowed red with the rubble thrown up and carried down in the process. All this finds expression in another form in the story of the *Sarasvatī* carrying bloody water[109] or water mixed with blood for a complete year[110] as a result of the curse of Viśvāmitra who felt annoyed on her failure to deliver *Ṛishi Vaśishṭha* to him. Now significantly it was not the real Sarasvatī that flowed with blood but her own other self named *Aruṇā* in the *Mahābhārata*[111] and *Āgneyī* earlier in *Rāmāyaṇā*.[112] This Aruṇā has been identified with the present Run river[113] which was at one time the main branch of the river Markanda that crosses the G.T. Road near the town of Shahbad in district Kurukshetra about 12 miles from Ambala.[114] Markanda or *Aruṇā* was one of the rivers that gained from the diversion of Sarasvatī's waters and most probably it emerged in the process as an entirely new river. This is undoubtedly the meaning of the Sarasvatī following *Ṛishi* Mārkaṇḍeya[115] who had, with his own eyes, witnessed the Great Deluge in the age of *Manu Vaivaśvata*.[116] This reference also clearly connects the diversion of Sarasvatī's waters with the Great Deluge. The Thanesar *Sarasvatī* and the *Sambhramatī* or the present Somb torrent meeting the Western Jamuna Canal at Dadupur Canal works were the other rivers that shared Sarasvatī's diverted waters,[117] a large portion of which probably started flowing eastward into the Yamunā also through rivers like the Giri.[118] That is why the Aruṇā-Markaṇḍa remained only a rainy season torrent and with the increase in the importance of the town of *Sthāṇvīsvara*, also called Kurukṣhetra, the name Sarasvatī was appropriated by the insignificant stream flowing by its side as its common name *Prāchī Sarasvatī* shows.[119] The event, probably a large-scale tectonic-seismic upheaval, rightly described as the Deluge, was indeed so gigantic in proportions that it wrought serious changes in the topography of the Shiwaliks between the Yamunā and the Ravi and effected the whole of the region along the Sarasvatī lying between the Himalayas beyond Nahan on one side and the Rajasthan desert on the other. That this event led to the disappearance of the Sarasvatī is specifically implied in the statement that the river vanished underground on account of the *Vaḍavānala*[120] which it was made to carry to the ocean.

The story of *Tripuradāha*[121] by God Śiva also appears to rise from the same background. Here the firy missile shot by the great god burns down *Tripura* with all its *Asura* population and dumps it into the Western Ocean.[122] It was the Sarasvatī that provided the track for his chariot.[123] The great magnitude of destruction is implied in the suggestion that *Tripura* actually represented not one but a complex of three prosperous *Asura* cities.[124]

Yet another episode in *Mahābhārata*,[125] in which the Great Deluge appears to find an echo is that of sage Utathya who drinks off the entire water of the ocean on *Varuṇa's* refusal to return his bride Bhadrā whom the god had forcibly abducted. The country is reduced to a desert and Utathya asks the Sarasvatī to go invisible into it so that, forsaken by her, it becomes inauspicious.

The above analysis of the literary evidence bearing upon the causes of the disappearance of the *Sarasvatī* and the location of the site of *Vinaśana* enables us to set down the attributes that we may expect to meet in the spot deserving of identification with it. These attributes would be (i) location on the eastern bank of the river below the confluence of the *Sarasvatī* with the *Dṛishadvatī* about the upper end of the desert, (ii) evidence of sacrificial activity, and (iii) signs of the occurrence of a seismic-tectonic-volcanic upheaval antecedent to the occupation of the site.

By a remarkable coincidence archaeological excavations in the region relevant to our enquiries have thrown up a site answering to all these requirements. We are referring to the pre-historic site of Kalibangan situated 29°.25′ N and 74°.5′ E some 310 kms. north-west of Delhi amidst the rolling sand-dunes of northern Rajasthan in the district of Ganganagar. Pilibangan, roughly lying midway between Hanumangarh and Suratgarh[126] on the northern railway, is the nearest railway station. Kalibangan is on the eastern bank of the Ghaggar about the northern end of the Rajasthan desert a few miles below the village of Malke Bhowri where the *Sarasvatī* and *Dṛishadvatī* meet. Excavations at the site were carried out by a very competent team consisting of senior officers of the Archaeological Survey of India, including J.P. Joshi and led by B.K. Thapar and B.B. Lal.[127] Although a full length report of the excavations is yet to come out, both Thapar[128] and Lal[129] have published separate accounts of the findings which generally agree in details. We reproduce the relevant portion from Prof. Lal's articles.

> The two periods of occupation identified at Kalibangan were named I and II from the bottom upwards. Period I represents the Proto-Harappan or Early Harappan and Period II the Harappan culture. The settlement relating to Period II was in the metropolitan style with two clear cut parts : a citadel to the west and a lower town to the east. The Citadel Complex is further divisible into two equal parts, southern and northern, each forming a rhomb on plan and both fortified by a bipartite wall in between.

There are two entrances to the southern rhomb, one each from the south and the north. These were either stepped or ramped, which shows that vehicular traffic was forbidden from entering the rhomb because the buildings that lay inside were essentially of a religious or ritualistic kind and thus out of reverence the people were expected to walk within the campus and not ride about.

There were several mud-brick platforms, oriented along the cardinal directions, on each of which there stood a special structure. Although much of these structures has been denuded ever the mellennia by nature and man alike, there still remains enough to give an idea of the use to which they were put. Thus, atop one of the platforms there lay a series of even 'fire-altars' in a row.[130] Behind these fire altars ran a well in the north-south direction, which shows that people had to face the east[131] while performing rituals at these altars. The altars were oblong on plan, sunk into the ground and lined with clay. Each of them contained a central stele of baked clay around which lay ash and charcoal. Fragments of biconvex terracotta cakes were also obtained from the series of altars while elsewhere at the site, the fire altars contained them in sufficient numbers showing that they formed some kind of an offering. To the west of these fire-altars lay embedded the lower half of a jar containing ash and charcoal[132] which was evidently connected with use of the fire-altars. Within a few metres of these altars were a well and a few bath pavements suggesting ablutions before the performance of the ritual—a tradition still in vogue in India amongst the Hindus.

On another platform lay, besides a well and a 'fire-altar' a large 'burnt-brick-lined' pit containing antlers and bevine bones providing evidence of animal sacrifice.[133] This idea is strengthened from the engravings on the two sides of a terracotta cake. The figure on one side, on the basis of the crown, appears to be that of a deity while on the other side is an animal tied with a rope which is held by a human figure. May be this was how the animal was led to the sacrificial altar.

These platforms were separated, one from the other, by passageways through which flowed burnt-brick drains. There were no such drains in the town site. This shows that special care was bestowed on the cleanliness of this area, so that water emanating from the ritual baths did not make the passage slushy. The platforms were also separated from the fortification walls. Thus, one could move around the former if one wished to do so. Access to the top of the platforms was had by means of steps/ramps some remnants of which were ascertainable.

Besides, there was another area (KLB-3) which was used exclusively for fire-altars. It lay about 80 yards to the east of the Lower Town. Though this complex had largely been eroded, a large room with four to five altars was duly identified.

There is also evidence to suggest that the Kalibanganite set apart a room for performance of the ritual individually in his own house.

The fire-altars found within the Citadel Complex may have been used for congregational ritual or by some privileged people while others used the unfortified and less ostentatious place in KLB-3. Alternately the KLB-3 Complex may have come up at a time when the Citadel Complex was on the Wane, towards the last days of Kalibangan."

These facts speak for themselves and leave us in no doubt about popularity of the cult of sacrifice among the Harappan Kalibanganites. It was undoubtedly a part of their daily life. It is however not necessary to assume that the fire-altars within the Citadel Complex were used for congregational rituals or by privileged people or that the KLB-3 Complex came up towards the last days of Kalibangan. We are of the view that both the sets of fire-altars were used by people embarking upon the performance of sattras and the KLB-3 Complex probably came up later when the Citadel set was found insufficient for the growing number or *Yajamānas*. Nor is it necessary to attach too much importance to the text-prescribed size and structure of the altars which were probably strictly adhered to only in case of very important sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya etc*. As Dr. Kane observes although the construction of the fire-altars in five layers is an '*aṅga*' of *Somayāga, chayana* or the piling of the fire-altars was not obligatory in every sacrifice. This is clearly suggested by statements in the Vedic texts themselves. The *Taittirīya Samhitā*, for instance says that 'All this earth is the *Vedī*, but they measure off a sacrifice on so much as they deem they can use'. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[134] also emphasises that "if one secures learned and skilful priests it does not matter what kind of sacrificial ground one selects." Even in the *Ṛgveda*,[135] much earlier of course, the quadrangular altar is referred to as : *Chatush-kapardā supēśā ghṛita-pratīkā vayunāni vaste . . . yatra devā dadhire bhāgadheyam*. According to Petḍar[136] *Vayunāni vaste* suggests that the mode of shaping or decorating *etc.* of the *Vedī* was supposed to be changing from time to time or may be from region to region. According to an anecdote in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[137] when the gods failed to attain immortality by performing various sacrifices they started constructing fire-altars with bricks of different sizes. Still they did not attain immortality. Then they approached *Prajāpati* who said to them, "Ye do not lay down (put on me) all my forms but ye either make me too large or leave me defective; therefore ye do not become immortal." This appears to point to the late beginning of the practice that restricted bricks to a fixed number and the altar to a fixed size before which there were no restrictions on the size or structure of the Vedī.

It is interesting to note that the *sattras* were to be performed by many sacrificers in groups. According to a text quoted by *Śabara* on *Jai*, vi. 2.1, the persons who engaged together in a sattra wore to be at least 17 and not more than 24.[138] Such a stipulation was eminently justified in case of *Yātsattras* in view of the dangers and difficulties which must have befallen those performing *Sārasvata* and *Dārshadvata sattras* upstream along the two rivers while passing through jungles infested by all sorts of predators and thieves and robbers. The hazards involved must have been formidable because no priests were prepared to accompany the sacrificers who were therefore necessarily to be *Brāhmaṇas* so as to be able to act as priests for themselves.[139] Indeed instances of a performer dying after *Dikshā* on the way were not unknown as is evident from the provision that in such a case the son or the other very near relative was to be given *Dikshā* and associated in the *sattra*.[140] This explains the existence of many fire-altars at Kalibangan. And it is anybody's guess how many more of them might have been in the KLB-3 Complex which had largely been eroded.

Let us now return to the excavatorś remarks on the end of the pre- Harappan or Period I Kalibangan settlement. Prof. Lal[141] says that at several places in the trenches was observed cleavage-*cum*-displacement of the strata and walls, which evidently was the result of some earth movement. He considers it most likely that the site was deserted because of an earthquake. Also in his view the occupation of Period II did not come into being immediately after the end of Period I but about

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200 years later. Thapar[142] also subscribes to this view and adds that during the time the site remained abandoned a thin layer of sand, largely infertile and wind-blow accumulated over the ruins.

Nor more observations upon the extent or intensity of the seismic activity that destroyed the Pre-Harappan phase of Kalibangan are available but whatever has been said is enough to justify the conclusion that it came in the form of a catastrophic earthquake probably accompanied by strong volcanic eruptions, that rendered the country uninhabitable for a couple of centuries and must inevitably have involved terrible damage to life and property. Nor is there any reason to believe that its impact was confined to the region of Kalibangan. Prof. Lal himself admits elsewhere[143] the possibility of a tectonic movement involving the divide between the Indus and Gaṅgā systems and accounting for the drying up of the Ghaggar as a result of the diversion of some of its tributaries to the Yamunā as well as for the discovery of the water-laid deposits of Ochre Ware preceding the painted Grey Ware at the archaeological sites like Hastināpura, Ahichhatrā, Bahadarabad, Nasirpur, Jhinjhina and Atranjikhera in the Gaṅgā basin. However instead of identifying this tectonic movement with the seismic activity that hit the Pre-Harappan Kalibangan around B.C. 3000 as indicated by the evidence examined above he confines it to the region of the source of these rivers where the Ghaggar and Yamunā basins come close to each other and places it about the first half of the second millennium B.C. so as to synchronise with the desertion of the site of Harappan Kalibangan as a result of the drying up of the Ghaggar and with the supposed later date of the Gaṅgā basin O.C.W sites. It looks rather improbable that a tectonic movement involving the expansive divide between the Indus and the Gaṅgā systems should have been confined only to the region of their sources. It is also to be remembered that literary evidence supports fierce seismic-tectonic-volcanic activity extensively involving the long course of the river Sarasvatī and its valley and not the Gaṅgā system which hasn't thrown up any positive proof of widespread seismic upheaval like the one that destroyed Pre-Harappan Kalibangan. Neither are the courses of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā reported to have suffered any major changes at any stage in their known history.

Wheeler's sensational theory of destruction of Harappa and Mohenjodaro by the savage Aryan hordos of India is no more taken seriously.[144] It was indeed as far back as in 1940 that M.R. Sahni noticed silt deposits perched many feet above the level of the Indus plain near the city of Hyderabad and suggested the destruction of these cities as a result of serious floods caused by major tectonic upheavals.[145] His view gathered support in only 1960 when a field party of the Pennsylvania University Museum undertook an archaeological survey of the Arabian coast of West Pakistan and discovered settlements of the Harappan era that had clearly been seaports but were now located as far as thirty miles inland showing clearly that the coast-line has risen considerably during the past 4000 years, with the initial rise apparently having occurred during the Harappan period.[146] It is interesting to note that in his extensive surveys conducted in the same year in southern Baluchistan and the lower Indus Raikes[147] also reports a marked coastal uplift along the northern flank of the Arabian sea about the Harappan times which according to him, might have been more extensive so as to cover even the Indus Valley. Raikes[148] asserts that the uplift, accompanied by more or less violent earthquake shocks, would not only have caused destruction of cities and settlements but would have disrupted the system of river and coast-wise communication on which the commercial life of the culture must have largely depended. And this event, as he pertinently observes,[149] may have occurred hundreds of thousands of years ago or merely a few thousand years, and it must be admitted that some of the geologists consulted on the subject tend to think in terms of hundreds of thousands of years which he ascribes to a certain reluctance on their part to consider anything more recent than 20,000 years old as geology. The view of Raikes is supported by a number of scholars[150] and this makes it quite safe to accept the possibility of the occurrence of this event around B.C. 3000.[151]

Although Raikes suspects Sehwan, some 90 miles down-stream from Mohenjodaro, to be the most probable area of tectonic disturbance Lambriok[152] believes that an avulsion and major change of course by the Indus took place considerably upstream of Mohenjodaro. On the other hand geological evidence of large-scale rock-faulting in the region[153] justifies the suggestion that these earth-movements also embraced the region further north-east to the Simla foothills across the Thar and the Indo-Gangetic divide[154] and upraised the entire bed of the Sarasvatī and the floor of the sea of its confluence.[155] They might indeed be even more wide-spread because Sir Leonard Woolley[156] also found at Ur in Mesopotamia indubitable proof of a flood which must have engulfed all the cities in the delta sometime before B.C. 3000. The significance of the synchronism and of the identical nature of the event can hardly be ever emphasised and it is no more possible to dismiss the story of the Great Flood as a myth now that its literary evidence finds full support in the concrete testimony of independent archaeological discoveries at different places.

The combined effect of all this evidence makes it appear most probable that the earth-movements postulated by Lal and Raikes were caused during the same fierce seismic-tectonic-volcanic upheaval in the north that, according to literary sources, wrought extensive changes in the topography of the Shiwalik belt between the Yamunā and Ravi resulting in the diversion of the waters of the Sarasvatī leading to its ultimate drying up around *Vinaśana.* The connection of the event that destroyed the pre-Harappan settlement at Kalibangan with the Deluge of Manu *Vaivasvata* is thus too striking to be taken lightly.

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The location of Kalibangan therefore satisfies all the attributes that we set out to find in the site of Vinaśana. It is located at the eastern bank of Sarasvatī below its confluence with the *Dṛishadvatī* about the upper end of the desert of Rajasthan. And it also provides ample evidence of sacrificial activity as well as of the occurrence of a fierce seismic-tectonic upheaval antecedent to the occupation of the site. Only linguistically there is nothing common between the names Kalibangan and *Vinaśana*. This however is not material to the conclusion justified by weighty geographical and historical factors in view of the fact that the name of Kalibangan, meaning 'black bangles', is obviously of recent origin, apparently given to the place on account of scattered prehistoric remains abounding in bangle-pieces after the old name was lost and forgotten.

Now during their long and arduous upstream march along the Sarasvatī and *Dṛishadvatī* the sacrificers stopped at convenient points some of which, like *Vinaśana*, must have developed sacrificial complexes having paved fire-altars.[157] Discovery of further evidence of sacrificial activity, similar to that found at Kalibangan and assignable to the same date will therefore certainly strengthen the proposed identification of *Vinaśana*. Unfortunately the shape and structure of a 5000 year old fire-altar would be so akin to the mutilated flooring of a room that it might easily go undetected unless found in a condition good enough to command easy attention. Although sites situated so far apart as Kalibangan and Lothal[158] have yielded evidence of popularity of the fire-cult with the Harappans it depends on sheer chance that the area selected for excavation should turn out to contain spots or structures used for religious purposes. Absence of fire altars or some other evidence of sacrificial activity would not therefore justify a conclusion that it did not exist at a particular site. As it is, we are rather fortunately placed in this respect in case of sites along the *Sarasvatī* and *Dṛishadvatī*. Known for its turbulence and fury from the earliest times the Sarasvatī-Ghaggar appears to have obliterated all traces of most of the pre-historic settlements that fell within the reach of its unrestrained floodwaters. Of the few that have survived only Banawali and Chandigarh have been subjected to the archaeologist's probing knife. Comparatively the Dṛṣadvatī has spared a much more impressive group of sites including Kārotī, Sothi, Mitathal, Siswal and Rakhigashi which have been explored/excavated. Majority of these sites do appear to answer to our requirement in one way or the other. At Chandigarh,[159] despite devastating inundation, the lower levels show signs of living floors containing circular pits and fire-scarred patches which might have represented household altars for daily sacrifice. Mitathal[160] and Siswal[161] have yielded terracotta triangular cakes so typical of the Harappan culture and usually associated with rituals. They were possibly used as *piṇḍas* at *Śrāddha* which would testify to the important position of these sites as *tīrthas*. Most interesting evidence however, comes from Kārotī and Rakhigarhi. The former is one of the few Vedic sites of undoubted identity[162] that appears in the age of the *Brāhamṇas* as a seat of the fire-cult par excellence.[163] In the Śatapatha *Brāhamaṇa* (ix. 5.2.15)[164] *Śāṇḍilya*, the principal authority on the building of altars for the sacred fires,[165] specifically describes it as the place where the sage Tura *Kāvaṣheya* made a fire-altar for the gods. Situated 29° 10′ N by 74° 50′ E[166] about 5 kms. to the south-east of Sothi it falls on the left side of the old *Dṛishadvatī* bed and has been explored to reveal remains of Pre-Harappan and Harappan material including terracotta cakes.[167] Rakhigarhi, also known as Rakhi Shahpur, lying 29° 16′ N by 76° 10′ E again on the dry bed of the same river in Hansi tehsil of district Hissar, 190 kms. east of Kalibangan,[168] is supposed to be the most extensive of the known Harappan sites in India and deemed worthy of being considered as a possible eastern-most capital of the Harappans.[169] Like Kalibangan and Lothal this important site has also revealed fire-altars which would have gone unnoticed but for a chance visit by B.B. Lal.[170] Its first specific mention in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, thus comes as a most valuable confirmation of the performance of *sattras* as described in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śrautasūtras* at the Harappan settlements along the Sarasvatī and *Dṛishadvatī*.

This conclusion provides us with a reliable sheet anchor for fixing the age of the composition of some important classes of Vedic literature.

Following dates have been assigned to the two levels of settlements excavated at Kalibangan on the basis of C^{14} readings :

Period I—Pre-Harappan

	Uncorrected	*Corrected after Dates*[171]	*Corrected after Ralph Michael & Han*[172]
Lal	2400-2250	2950-2800	2930/2960-2700/2820
Thapar	2450-2300	3000-2850	2970/2990-2850/2870
		Period II—Harappan	
Lal	2200-1700	2700-1900	2630/2670-2060
Thapar	2300-1750	2850-1950	2850/2870-2110

Keeping in view the fact that the C^{14} dating method is not yet considered entirely fool-proof[173] one cannot afford to be dogmatic about these date-brackets. However even if they are taken at their face value one safely can place the end of the Pre-Harappan phase around B.C. 3000 at the latest,[174] as a result of the Great Deluge that took place in the time of *Manu Vaivasvata.*[175]

Actually at this point of time it appears that this date may have to be pushed back further. It is now accepted by no less an authority than H.D. Sankalia[176] that the Pre-Harappan or Hakrans (whom we associate with the Ṛgvedic culture) had a sense of town planning, built with moulded and kiln-baked bricks and made a distinctive pottery. M.R. Mughal[177] has found 23 sites of this "Hakra assemblage or complex" and dates it to *c.* B.C. 3500 warranting a conclusion that "the Hakra or the Vedic Sarasvatī Culture would be the earliest in north-western India".[178] Now giving about 200 years for the gap between the Deluge and the re-emergence of settlement at Kalibangan we can put the beginning of the Harappan phase at B.C. 2800 and its end around B.C. 2100. Allowing a couple of centuries for the development of the sacrificial cult in its Brāhmaṇic details the appearance of *Vinaśana* as an important religious centre should have taken place by B.C. 2500 at the latest.

Application of these dates to the works falling in the category of Vedic literature leads to interesting results. Being mostly ante-Deluvian the *Ṛgveda* has to be placed anterior to B.C. 3000 which becomes the lower age limit. It is not possible to fix any upper age limit. The *Ṛgveda* would thus represent a pre-Harappan civilisation. The *Atharvaveda* and the other *Samhitās* were probably compiled/composed not long after the Deluge and might have come into existence by B.C. 2700[179] in the early period of the Harappan phase. The *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* should follow suit because while they know about the disappearance of the *Sarasvatī* they do not mention *Vinaśana* by name. The composition of the remaining *Brāhmaṇas* led by the *Pañchavimśa* can be assigned to the middle of the Harappan phase and that of the *Āraṇyakas*, *Upanishads* and *Śrauta sūtras* to its final stage (ending around B.C. 2000) and thereafter.

We may close with the observation that the age assigned to the *Ṛgveda* above appears to be moving closer to the postulates of Tilak[180] and Jacobi[181] on the basis of evidence which is at once independent and reliable and being taken into account for the first time.[182]

Notes and References

1. *Śabdakalpadruma*, Delhi, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 400 :
   Vinaśyati antardadhāti Sarasvatī atra /
2. Spate O.H.K. Others, *India, Pakistan and Ceylon* :
   The Regions, 3rd ed. London, 1972, p. 536. According to Sir Aurel Stein (*A Survey of Ancient sites along the 'Lost' Sarasvatī River*. The

Geographical Journal, Vol. XCIX, January, June 1942, p. 176) the dry bed of the Ghaggar-Hakra river in Bikaner territory, over more than 100 miles, is no where less than 2 miles and at places 4 miles or more which has given rise to popular legends and local belief that this bed was once the course of a mighty river. This agrees with the description of the Sarasvatī in the *Ṛgveda* as will be noticed *infra.* S.N. Roy's view that the original Sarasvatī existed in Puṣkara and not in Kurukshetra is utterly untenable. For fresh material confirming this identification see Bharadwaj, O.P., *Gaṅgā to Ghaggar with Vālmīkī, Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal,* Vol. XVII, (1979), pp. 142-67. Also on Vedic Sarasvatī or Ghaggar as a great Himalayan river and Dṛishadvatī its major Himalayan tributary, see Bimal Ghose, Amar Kar and Zahid Hussain, Comparative Role of the Aravalli and the Himalayan River Systems in the Aluvial Sedimentation of the Rajasthan Desert, *Man and Environment*, Vol .IV, 1980, pp. 8-11.

3. *Cf.* Rayachaudhuri, H.C., *Studies in Indian Antiquities,* Calcutta, 1958, p. 134.
4. *RV.* ii. 41. 16.
5. These sessions were performed while moving upstream along the Sarasvatī over a long duration of time. Therefore they were called '*Yātsatras*', *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra,* ed. Sharma Vidyadhar, Kashi, V.S. 1987, 24.5.25 :

   yāt-satrāṇi sārasvatāni | Comm. *yātvā yātvā kriyante iti vā* |
6. Ed. Rangaswami Aiyangar, K.V., G.O.S. Baroda, 1942, p. 250 :

   Plaksha-prāsravaṇam Vṛiddha-kanyākaṁ sārasvatain Āditya-tīrthaṁ Kauberaṁ Vaijayantaṁ Pṛithūdakaṁ Naimishaṁ Vinaśanaṁ Vaṁśodbhedaṁ Prabhāsam-iti Sārasvatāni |
7. B.O.R.I. Text, *Vana,* 130.3 and Śalya, 36.1 *etc.*
8. *e.g. Kūrma Purāṇa,* Gurumandal Series ,Calcutta, 1963, 36.27; and *Brahmāṇda Purāṇa,* ed. Jagdish Shastri, Delhi, 1973 ii. 3. 13 69 *etc.*
9. *Cambridge History of India,* 3rd Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1968, Vol. I, p. 105.
10. Devasthali, G.V., *Religion and Mythology of the Brāhmaṇas,* Poona, 1965, p. 135.
11. Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras,* Delhi, 1959, pp. 1.2.
12. ii. 19; Also *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa,* XII. 3.
13. XIV. 1.1.8.
14. Chaukhamba, Banares, 1936, Pt. ii. XXV. 10.1. *Āsvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra,* Anandashram Series, Poona, 1917 : VI. 6.i: and *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* ed. Weber, A., Reprint, Varanasi. Also *Śaṅkhāyana Śraūta Sūtra* XIII. 29.1., *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Śūtra,* ed. Anandchandra, A.S.B. Calcutta, 1870. X. 15.1. and *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra,* 1.1.2.10, *etc.*

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15. Dwivedi, R.K., *The Sarasvatī Complex in the Mahābhārata*, K.C. Chattopadhyaya Memorial Vol. Allahabad, 1975, pp. 160-75.
16. Oldham, *The Sarasvatī and the Lost River of the Indian Desert*, J.R.A.S., 1893, Series 3, Vol. 25. pp. 116, 124 f. His view is shared by Ravarty, Bryson and Bacrreis but rejected by others including Vishnu Mittre and V.M. Meher-Homji. See Meher-Homji, *The Thar Desert : Its climatic History, Man and Environment* Vol. iv, 1980, pp. 1-7.
17. *Kāśikā* on *Pāṇini* iv. 2.124 ed., Narayana Mishra, Varanasi, 1969, p. 352, where it is named *adarśa* in the example *ādarśakaḥ*.
18. It is said to have reached even upto Panjnad. See Wilson, J. *Final Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Siras District in the Punjab*, 1879-83, p. 5; *Skanda Purāṇa* (Nirnayasagar Press), Nāgara, Khaṇḍa, 164.39 appears to suggest that the flow of the river reached beyond the Sambhar lake in the reference to the setting up of the *Durga* on the bank of the Sarasvatī by Śākambharī, wife of Chaṇḍaśarmā :

    Śākambhar-īti vikhyātā bhāryy=āsīch-Chaṇḍa śarmaṇaḥ /Tayā sansthāpito durgo Saras-vatyā śubhe taṭe //

    Devala, as we have already seen (n. 6 *supra*) mentions Prabhāsa as the last *tīrtha* on the river which is supported by Sarvagya-Nārāyaṇa in his gloss on *Manu*. xi. 77.
19. *Op. cit.*, p. 536.
20. *Śalya*, 10. 116.
21. 1.18.247.
22. Cited by Raychaudhuri, H.C. *op. cit.*, p. 139.
23. i.2. 10 : *Prāg-adarśanāt pratyak-kālaka vanād-dakshiṇena Himavantam udak Pāriyātram etad-Āryāvartam.*
24. See Kane, P.V., *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1941, Vol. ii, Pt. i, p. 13.
25. ii. 4. 10.
26. ii. 21.
27. iii. 17.
28. Ch.ii.
29. Ch. xvii.
30. *Trikāṇḍaśesha* ii. 1.14.
31. *Ibid.*, Vol., iv, p. 400.
32. i.9.1.
33. X.79.23.
34. Vana, 80.118.
35. Śalya, 36.1; Vana, 130.3 and 4.
36. Ali, S.M. *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, Second ed. Delhi, 1973, p. 144.
37. Raychaudhuri, H.C. *Political History of Ancient India*, 7th ed., Calcutta, 1972, p. 227.

38. *Ibid.*
39. Law, B.C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., Poona, 1973, p. 63.
40. Mathur, V.K., *Aitihāsika Sthānāvali*, Delhi, 1969, p. 503.
41. This exactly is implied by its location on the top of the desert (*Marupṛishṭha*) in the *Mahābhārata*, n. 33, *supra*.
42. Cited by Dwivedi, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
43. *Geology of India*, 4th ed., Reprint, Delhi, 1976, p. 368.
44. Vide *Ṛgvedic Ārya*, Allahabad, 1957, p. 8.
45. *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 3rd ed. Delhi, 1971, p. 131.
46. *Rivers of India*, Calcutta, p. 16.
47. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1971, p. 49.
48. *JRAS*, 1893, Series 3, Vol. 25, p. 52.
49. Quoted by Godbole, N.N., *Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī*, Jaipur, 1963, p. 18.
50. *Ibid.*, Intro. p. 1.
51. *Regional Geography of Vedic India*, Kanpur, 1976, p. 10.
52. Lahore, 1892, p. 7.
53. P.H.A.I., p. 481.
54. *The Geography of Ṛgvedic India*, Lucknow, 1964, p. 83.
55. Ed. Majumdar, R.C., London, 1951, p. 251.
56. Third Reprint, Delhi, 1967, Vol. II, p. 300.
57. *Lost Sarasvatī*, Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1967, 145-1.
58. XXV. 10.
59. Ed. Raghuvira, Nagpur, 1954, ii. 300.
60. X.19.1.
61. V. i.i.
62. XXIV.6.32.
63. *Op. cit.*, pp. 113 and 120. He places *Vinaśana* near Sirsa and the confluence near Bhatnair, further down on the Ghaggar. Y.D. Sharma also locates Saṅgama below Kalibangan. See *Proceedings of the Archaeological Congress and Seminar*, 1972, ed. Singh, U.V., Kurukshetra University, 1976, map on the back of p. 5. However, K.N. Dikshit (*A critical Review of the Pre-Harappan Cultures*, *Man and Environment*, Vol. iv, 1980, pp. 32-43) agrees with placing Kalibangan below the *Saṅgama* in the map on p. 33. So does H.D. Sankalia in his *Indian Archaeology Today*, Delhi, 1979, map, fig. 1 after p. 63.
64. 83.120-130 and 80.1.
65. After completing the description of *Saṅgama* in the last verse No. 133 of Ch. 80 of *Vanaparva* the *Mbh.* says in the first verse of ch. 81:

    Tato gachchhet rājendra Kurukshetram-abhīshṭītam /

Pāpebhyo Vipramuchyante tad-gatāḥ sarva-jantavaḥ ||

66. XXV, 10.16
67. Bharadwaj, O.P., *Plakshaprāsravaṇa*, Paper presented at the *A.I.O.C.*, Poona Session, 1978. The portion relating to the identification was added later.
68. *Sirmur Gazetteer* Simla. 1969, p. 11 f.
69. *Cf.* Khan, M.I., *Sarasvatī in Sanskrit Literature*, Ghaziabad, 1978, pp. 23f.
70. vi.131.3.
71. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. Kangle, R.P., Bombay, 1970, Pt i, ii. 30.90. . . .
72. *Mahābhāshya*. v. 3.55.
73. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 657 f.
74. Wilson, J., *op. cit.*, p. 3.
75. Oxford, 1909, Plate 32.
76. In 8 sheets office of The Surveyor General of India, Calcutta, 1866.
77. 7, 95.2
78. *RV*, 6.61.8.
79. *Ibid.*, 6.61.2.
80. *Ibid.*, 6.61.11.
81. *Ibid.*, 7.95.4.
82. *Ibid.*, 7.95.1.
83. *Ibid.*, 6.61.13.
84. *Ibid.*, 6.61.7.
85. *Ibid.*, 6.61.13.
86. *Ibid.*, 7.96.1
87. *Ibid.*, 2.41.16.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ath.* XIX. 39.8 : *Yatra nāva prabhraṅśanam yatra Himavataḥ śiraḥ.*
91. *Śata.* i.8.1.1. ...
92. *Vana*, 185.46-47.
93. *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, ed. Vreese. K.De, Leiden, 1936, vv. 41, 146 and 161.
94. *E.g. Skanda Purāṇa, Prabhāsa, Khaṇḍa*, 17. 53.
95. *Ibid.*, 33.44. Also *cf.* Dave, S.K., *The Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, Vol. X, No. i, January 1968, p. 74.
96. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsa*, ch. 32.
97. *Ibid.*, 33.89.
98. *Ibid.*, 35.34.
99. *Ibid.*, 35.6.
100. *Ibid.*, 34.36.
101. *Ibid.*, 35.21-26.
102. *Ibid.*, 35.30-41.

103. *Ibid.*, 35.14.
104. See Siddheśvara Shastri Chitrav, *Prāchina Charitra Kośa*, Poona, 1964, p. 105.
105. Its capital was Bilaspur 33 miles north-west of Saharanpur on the road to Ambala, see Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
107. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
108. *Skanda Purāṇa, Prabhāsa*, 35.5. :

> *Kālāntare tato bhitvā Kurudeśam mahāprabhaḥ |*
>
> *Nirgat-ottaṅbhita śirā jwalad-āsyo=ti bhīshaṇaḥ ||*

109. *Ibid., Nāgara Khaṇḍa*, 172.13.
110. *Vāmana Purāṇa, Saromāhātmya*, 19.22.
111. Śalya, 42.24 (ii) :...*Aruṇāyamānayāmāsa svām tanūm bharatar shabha.*
112. Cred. Vaidya, P.L., Baroda, 1962, Vol. II, *Ayodhyā*, 62.10 ff. For equation of *Āgneyī* with *Aruṇā* see n. 112 *infra.*
113. Bharadwaj, O.P., *Sutlej to Gaṅgā with Vālmīki*, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. xiv, Pt. ii (Sept. 1976), p. 197.
114. *Ambala District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1892-93, p. 6.
115. *Vāmana Purāṇa* ed. Gupta, A.S., Varanasi, 1968, *Saromāhātmya* 11.23 :

> *Praty-uvācha mahātmānam Markaṇḍeyam mahā munim* /
>
> *yatra tvam neshyase vipra tatra yāsyāmy-atandritā* ||

116. *Mbh. Vana*, 186-87; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 12.8.
117. *Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara Khaṇḍa*, 173.9-14 : The episode described here is very significant as it apparently refers to the birth of the *Prāchī Sarasvatī* and the *Sāmbhramatī* at the same time as a result of seismic-tectonic upheaval in the region of *Sarasvatī's* source :

> *Evam-uktvā sa viprarshiḥ (Vaśishṭhaḥ) avatīrya dharātale |*
> *gataḥ plakshatarum̐ yasmād-avatīrṇā Sarasvatī ||* 9
> *Samādhim tatra saṅdhāya nivishṭo dharaṇītale |*
> *sambhramam̐ paramam̐ gatvā Viśvāmitrasy ch-opari ||* 10
> *Randhra-dvayena viprendrā lochanābhyām nirikshaṇāt |*
> *Ekasya salilam̐ kshipram yatra jātā Sarasvatī ||* 12
> *Dvitīyas-tu pravāho yaḥ sam̐bhramāt-tasya nirgatah |*
> *sā cha Sāmbhramatī nāma nadī jātā dharātale ||*14

118. It joins the Yamunā above Paonta at the village of Rampur ghat. Its unusual name and the legend of its miraculous birth suggests that it might have some connection with the Great Deluge. *Sirmur Gazetteer*, Simla, 1969, p. 9.

119. It was known as *Prāchī Sarasvatī* till as late as the 9th century A.D.; *cf.* Pehoa Inscription of Bhoj I of the Imperial Pratihāra Dynasty, *Epigraphia Indica*, 1.187, cited by Raychaudhuri, H.C., *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 129; Also see *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 4.19.1. and *Vāmana Purāṇa*, 4.19.1 and *Vāmana Purāṇa, Saromāhātmya*, 21.19.
120. *Padma Purāṇa Sṛshṭi*, 18, 198.
121. *Mbh., Karṇa*, ch. 24.
122. *Ibid.*, v. 120.
123. *Ibid.*, v. 75.
124. *Ibid.*, v. 14.
125. *Anuśāsana*, 139, 22-26.
126. It is, by rail, 26 kms. from Hanumangarh (29° 6′ N and 74° 36′ E) on the north, and 25 kms. from Suratgarh (29° 3′ N and 73° 8′ E) on the south.
127. For excavation notes see *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, p. 39; 1962-63, p. 20 ff. and 1963-64, pp. 30 ff.
128. *Expedition*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 19-32; *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. Hammond Norman, London, 1973, p. 85 ff. *Ecology And Archaeology of Western India* ed. Aggarwal and Pande, Delhi, 1977, pp. 67-75; *Ancient Cities of the Indus* ed. Possehl, Delhi, 1979, pp. 196-203.
129. *A Cultural Forum* 34, Vol. ix, No. 4, July, 1967, pp. 78-88 (jointly with Thapar); *Kalibangan's Contribution to the Understanding of the Indus Civilisation, I.I.A.S.*, Simla, Nov. 2-7, 1977; *Essays in Indian Protohistory* ed. Agarwal and Chakravarti, Delhi, 1979, pp. 65-97.
130. *Yajñaśālā* or sacrificial chamber contained several altars on which sacred fires were established. It also provided for different places for the sacrificer, his wife and the officiating priest *cf.* Sharma, R.N., *Culture and Civilisation as revealed in the Śrauta sūtras*, Delhi, 1977, p. 207 f.
131. The *Vedī* was required to face the east, *Agni Purāṇa*, 34, 36.
132. The jar was evidently meant to serve the purpose of *Utkara* or the rubbish pit required to be on the western or lower end of the *Vedī*.
133. Traditional sacrifices were 21 in number, divided into three classes of seven each. Animal sacrifices were regarded as part of the two classes namely *Haviryajña and Paśubandha.* See Chaturvedi, Girdhar Sharma, *Vaidika Vijñāna Aur Bhāratīya Samskṛti*, Patna, 1960, p. 244, n. 2; and *The Treading of the Vedas* Reprint Delhi, 1976, p. 192.
134. iii, 1.1.5.
135. X. 114.3
136. Potdar, K.R., *Sacrifice in the Ṛigveda, Bombay*, 1953, p. 73.
137. x. 4.3.6.
138. *H.O.D.* Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 1241.

139. *Ibid.*
140. *Ibid.*, p. 1242.
141. 1979, p. 75.
142. 1973, p. 85 and 1979, p. 198.
143. *A Deluge? Which Deluge? Yet another Facet of Problem of the Copper Hoard Culture American Anthropologist*, Vol. 70, 1968, pp. 857-63; Abstracts reproduced in *Purātattva* No. 5, 1971-72, pp. 101-04. For opposition to the possibility of a Deluge in the Gaṅgā O.C.W. times see Sharma, R.P. in *Ecology and Archaeology of Western India*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 75-77. Sh. R.C. Aggarwal, Director, Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, informs us that O.C.W. sites in Rajasthan have been dated to B.C. 3000.
144. *Cf.* Raikes Robert, L., *The End of the Ancient Cities of the Indus*, reproduced in '*Ancient Cities of the Indus*' ed. Gregory, L., Possehl, Delhi, 1979, p. 298.
145. Dales George, F., *The Decline of the Harappans* reproduced in Possehl, p. 309.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Op. cit.*, p. 302.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
149. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
150. *Ibid.*
151. Dales, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
152. Lambrick, H.T., "*The Indus Flood Plain and the Indus Civilisation*" reproduced in Possehl, p. 321.
153. Dales, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
154. Suraj Bhan, *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Jan., 1969, Vol. i, No. i. p. 10.
155. *Indras, op. cit.*, Preface p. iii. His dating of the event around B.C. 1500 cann't be accepted. Rao, S.R., Assigns the Flood to B.C. 1900 without giving any details of the evidence for his view. See *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*, Delhi, 1882, p. 306.
156. *Ur Excavations, The Early Period*, 1958, p. 18.
157. The *Sūtras* name several places like Prabhavyamarma at the confluence of the *Sarasvatī* and the *Dṛishadvatī*, *Naitandhava*, near the Sarasvatī and Kārapacava on the Yamunā apart from *Pariṇah*, *Plakshaprāsravaṇa* and *Vinaśana* in this connection but barring the last two none of these has been identified so far. See Ram Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
158. K.C. Jain, *Pre-history and Proto-history of India*, Delhi, 1979, p. 144.
159. R.S. Bisht in *Proceedings of the Archaeologial Congress and Seminar*, 1972, Ed. Singh Udai Vir, Kurukshetra, 1972, p. 19.
160. Suraj Bhan, *Excavation At Mitathal And Other Explorations in the Sutlej Yamunā Divide*, Kurukshetra, 1975, p. 66.
161. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

162. O.P. Bharadwaj, *Identification of the Vedic Site Kārotī*, V.I.J., 1981, Prof. Jagannath Agrawal. Felicitation Vol., pp. 170-75.
163. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 151.
164. *atha ha sm-āha Saṅḍilyaḥ turo ha kāvasheyaḥ kārotyām devebhyo devebhyo= agnim chikaya*
165. Albrecht Weber, *The History of Indian Literature*, 7th ed., Varanasi, 1974, p. 120.
166. *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*, Delhi 1950, Vol. i, p. 596.
167. See Devendra Handa, "*Kārotī Ki Khoja*", *Maruśrī* Pt. I, No. 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1971), pp. 10-16 and Pt. I, No. 3 (Apr.-June 1972), pp. 25-30.
168. Suraj Bhan, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
169. *Ibid.*
170. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
171. Dales, George F., on *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. Hammond Norman, London, 1973, p. 162 ff. and *in Ancient Cities of the Indus*, ed. Possehl Gregory, Delhi, 1979, pp. 332-38, p. 336.
172. Ralph E.K., Michael, H.N. and Han M., in *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, pp. 339-42, Table 4.
173. *Ibid.*, p. 339. One of the basic assumptions of the C^{14} method namely the constancy of the atmosphere inventory of C^{14}, 02 is not strictly valid. For various reasons it has fluctuated during past times. Also *cf.* Ward Anne, *Adventures in Archaeology*, London, 1977, p. 15.
174. *The contention of Indras* (*op. cit.*, p. 52) that the decay of Sarasvatī had already set in before the advent of the Vedic people is unwarranted.
175. *Manu Vaivasvata* has been assigned to B.C. 4000 by Law, N.N., Age of the Ṛigveda, Calcutta, 1965, p. 143, and to B.C. 3000 by Bhargava, P.L., *India in the Vedic Age*, Lucknow, 1956, p. 133 and Pusalkar, A.D., *The Vedic Age*, London, 1951, p. 269. Who calculated it to B.C. 3110 The date B.C., 3000 which closely approaches the traditional beginning of the Kali Age in B.C. 3102 would appear to be more reasonable.
176. *Indian Archaeology Today*, Delhi, 1979, p. 88.
177. "*Four Years of Archaeological Discoveries in Cholistan*", Summary of Lecture, February, 1977, cited by Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
178. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
179. *Cf.* K.N. Sastri, New Delhi *On The Indus Civilisation*, Delhi, 1965, Vol. ii, p. 142. According to Sastri, conditions of life envisaged in the Atharvaveda are very much in accord with life under which people lived in the Indus Valley some 5000 years ago while the *Ṛigveda* is much older than the Indus Civilisation.
180. Tilak first placed the Vedic period at about B.C. 4000 See *The Origin*, Poona, 1893, p. 220. Later in '*The Arctic Home in the Vedas*' (1903) he pushed it back to B.C. 5000

181. According to Jacobi Vedic Civilisation flourished from B.C. 4500 to B.C. 2500, *Indian Antiquary*, June, 1894, p. 157.
182. For a fresh examination of the data on the composition of the *Ṛigveda* see Law, N.N., *op. cit.*, Law supports the views of Tilak and Jacobi, pp. 143 ff.

5

Pururava's Pratisthana

While establishing the identification of Vālmīki's Ailadhāna with Ludhiana[1] we briefly took note of the evidence that points to the historicity of King Purūravā, son of Budha and Ilā and grandson of Manu. We are tempted to reproduce here a reference which is clear enough to convince any unbiased mind of the soundness of this view.

Ṛgveda I. 31.4 says : त्वमग्ने मनवे द्यामवाशयः पुरूरवसे सुकृते सुकृत्तरः ।

Sāyaṇa[2] comments : मनवे मनोरनुग्रहार्थं......पुरूरवसे एतन्नामकस्य राज्ञोऽनुग्रहार्थम्......

Griffith[3] translates : "Agni thou madest heaven to thunder for mankind; thou yet more pious, for pious Purūravas."

Although Sāyaṇa's interpretation hardly admits of any doubt, Griffith does not hesitate to disagree with him on Manu whom he takes to represent the human race in general rather than any particular individual. In case of Purūravā, however, he offers no alternative interpretation because the reference is unmistakably to a person of that name and must be readily accepted as such. In doing so Griffith is only following the age-old Indian tradition which has been carefully analysed and accepted by scholars like F.E. Pargiter,[4] H.C. Raychaudhury,[5] P.L. Bhargava,[6] and more recently R. Morton Smith[7] who does not hesitate to condemn the scepticism of Macdonell and Keith which makes their *Vedic Index* "far less useful than it ought to be". It is, therefore, time that those who are still labouring under the spell of this scepticism woke up to the necessity of facing the truth where evidence clearly points to it.

We have also referred to the evidence connecting Purūravā and his immediate successors with the sacred river Sarasvatī and the region of Kurukṣetra.[8] Purūravā appears to have succeeded Sudyumna in the ancestral kingdom in Brahmāvarta or the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī *doab* (region between two rivers) and extended it on all sides. His romance with the nymph Urvaśī and excursions in the Himalayas and the land of the Devas and Gandharvas indicate the growth of his influence in the north of Kurukṣetra while shifting of his capital to Ailadhāna points to the inclusions of trans-Sutlej areas in his territory. In the south-west he probably annexed the kingdom of Śaryāta who seems to have died heirless.[9]

Tradition depicts Purūravā as an illustrious monarch of great achievements who conquered all the seven continents,[10] performed a hundred *Aśvamedha* sacrifices,[11] introduced three sacrificial fires in place of one[12] and ruled most benevolently but for one lapse for which he fell foul of Brāhmaṇas.[13] In view of what has been said above the Purāṇic story of his capital at Pratiṣṭhāna on the Gaṅgā is evidently a result of the tendency of the later Purāṇa writers to transplant names of persons, places and even rivers *etc.*, for regional glorification from centres like Kurukṣetra which was the cradle of Indian civilisation.

Actually Pratiṣṭhāna was an unusually common name and we could think of several ancient towns bearing it without claiming the list to be exhaustive.

One is Pathankot[14] which was at one time the capital of the erstwhile Nurpur State bounded on the north by Chamba, on the east by Kangra and Guler, on the south by the Punjab plains and on the west by the river Ravi. The name of the town has been recorded in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and the *Bādshāhnāmah* as Paithan which Cunningham rightly traced back to Pratiṣṭhāna. Even as late as the reign of Shahjahān the region of Nurpur was called Man and Paithan. Man, earlier spelt like Dahmeri, Dhamari, Dhammeri, *etc.*, is apparently a corruption of the Sanskrit name Audumbara of the country and tribe whose coins have been discovered here. The name-ending Kot meaning a 'fort', was undoubtedly added to the original name Pratiṣṭhāna or Paithan on account of the presence of a fort here as in Sialkot, Nagarkot and so on.

Paithan[15] in district Aurangabad of Maharastra, well known as the old capital of the Sātavāhanas, is another Pratiṣṭhāna. It is situated on the northern bank of the Godawari, 28 miles to the south of Aurangabad, and finds mention in Arrian, Ptolemy, the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, the Jātakas, Purāṇas, *Kathāsaritsāgara* and Jain literature.

A third Pratiṣṭhāna is identified with Jhusi[16] near Prayāga on the opposite bank of the Gaṅgā. As we have already shown, this is wrongly associated with Purūravā Aila in the Purāṇas.

A fourth Pratiṣṭhāna is supposed to survive in the name Bithoor[17] which is connected by local tradition with Uttānapāda and Dhruva.

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And yet another Pratiṣṭhāna is spotted by S.M. Sastri in the *Fo-li-shi-sa-tang-na of Hiuen Tsang* in his notes to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India.*[18]

Its grammatical formation along with commonness of use suggests that Pratiṣṭhāna is no regular place-name but only a descriptive epithet like Bahri, Uchchapind, Lambagaon, Navanshahar, *etc.*, which stuck to a place with persistent use and came to acquire the status of a nomenclature. Monier Williams[19] defines it as "a firm standing place, ground, foundation" while Sastri[20] renders it as a "settlement or colony". It is interesting to note that the prefix '*prati*' is used in the sense of 'against', 'in opposition to', or 'at par with' which gives Pratiṣṭhāna the sense of "a town founded against or in opposition to an earlier town". It was thus in all probability a descriptive nomenclature given to a king's second or new seat of Government.

Jaichandra Vidyalankar[21] was, therefore, right in suggesting the location of another Pratiṣṭhāna—capital of Purūravā's ancestral kingdom—somewhere on the bank of the Sarasvatī and that is where we have to look for it. As already suggested, Manu Vaivasvata laid the foundation of his kingdom in Brahmāvarta where his capital was probably at some place located centrally in the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī *doab.* Sudyumna extended it westward across the Sarasvatī or Ghaggar and moved from the original seat of his predecessor to a more strategic place on its western bank, which, being a new settlement, was called Pratiṣṭhāna in contradistinction to the old capital. The eastern Pratiṣṭhāna on the Gaṅgā also must have been a similar settlement founded by some later less important king whose name came to be substituted by that of the legendary Purūravā in the Purāṇas. Succeeding to the throne of Sudyumna, Purūravā found it necessary to shift the seat of his Government further west to meet the requirements of his expanding territories. Accordingly, he founded a town on the bank of the Sutlej and christened it Ailadhāna after his own matronymic. Whether the name was given to the town by Purūravā himself or after him by his successors is immaterial.

So, we now come to the crucial question. Is it possible to spot Purūravā's Pratiṣṭhāna anywhere on the Sarasvatī ? Yes, it does appear to be possible to offer a plausible identification. A close examination of the maps[22] suggests the present town of Patran (pronounced Pātaḍān) in this connection for several reasons. For one thing the name offers a flawless linguistic equation with Pratiṣṭhāna by way of a very legitimate derivation through प्रतिष्ठान>पतिट्ठान>पातठाँ>पातड़ाँ. For another, it is situated in the centre of the Dṛṣadvatī-Sarasvatī-Sutlej tract, not very far from the western bank of the Ghaggar which is undoubtedly the original *Ṛgvedic* Sarasvatī. Even at present it is the junction for roads converging from Patiala, Bhatinda, Jakhal, Hissar-Tohana and Jind, most of which are ancient towns. Tohana is the Tauṣāyaṇa of Pāṇini,[23] Bhatinda has been identified with Vāṭadhāna[24] and Jind is the Jayantī of the *Mahābhārata*.[25] And finally the old town lies on a mound big enough to ensure for it a place among towns of antiquity.[26]

From all these considerations it would appear to be safe to conclude that the balance of probability lies in favour of the proposed identification and that the town Patran had the honour of being for some time the seat of Purūravā's inherited kingdom. This conclusion fully agrees with the likely historical map of this region at the dawn of political activity in India.

As is evident, the literary sources clearly connect the two sites of Ludhiana-Ailadhāna and Patran-Pratiṣṭhāna with Purūravā Aila and place their antiquity much earlier than even that of the Vedic sites like Asandh-Āsandīvat,[27] Kaithal-Kapiṣṭhala[28] and Sugh-Srughna.[29] It is for the archaeologists now to rise to the occasion and complete their side of the picture. We have identified the soul; let them invest it with a body. As it is, they have, so far, paid attention mainly to sites unknown to literature which, even in their pre-historic character, remain confined to the uncertain and ambiguous dating formula of 'Pre-Harappan, Harappan and Post-Harappan' age brackets—a formula that is perpetually undergoing revision with every new discovery affecting the dating techniques like radio-carbon.

It is time our archaeologists turned their attention to important sites identified in early Vedic literature and the Epics or connected with personalities and events mentioned therein.

Notes and References

1. *Purāṇa* XVII, 2, (July 1975), pp. 106-117.
2. *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, Vaidik Saṁshodhan Mandal, Vol. I, p. 225.
3. *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, (Banares 1920), Vol. I, p. 41.
4. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, (Reprint, Delhi 1972), p. 38 and *passim*.
5. *Political History of Ancient India*, 7th ed., (Culcutta 1972), p. 23.
6. *India in the Vedic Age*, (Lucknow 1956), pp. 66, 77 and *passim*.
7. *Dates and Dynasties in Earliest India*, (Delhi 1973), pp. 1, 11, 445 and *passim*.
8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 115-117.
9. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, 134.
10. *Matsyapurāṇa*, (*Anandashram Series*), 24, 11 :
    ...लोकैश्वर्यमगाद्राजा सप्तद्वीपपतिस्तदा ॥
11. *Ibid.*, 24 10 : अश्वमेधशतं साग्रमकरोद्यः स्वतेजसा ।.........
12. *Agnipurāṇa*, (Chaukhamba, Varanasi 1966), 274. 14 :
    एकोऽग्निरभवत्पूर्वं तेन त्रेता प्रवर्तिता ।......

13. *Mbh.*, (Gita Press) ed., Ādi-parvan, 75.20-23 :
    22........ततो महर्षिभि : क्रुद्धै ; सद्य: शप्तो व्यनश्यत ।।
14. *Kangra District Gazetteer*, (Lahore 1926), p. 89; S.B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, (Calcutta 1955), pp. 57 and 117.
15. *Ibid.* Also Nando Lal Dey. *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, (3rd ed., Delhi 1971), p. 159; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, (2nd ed., Delhi 1971), pp. 189, 226-227 and 273 & n.; V.K. Mathur, *Aitihāsika Sthānāvalī*, (Delhi 1969), pp. 581-583.
16. *Kangra Distt., Gaz.*, p. 88; Dey, *op. cit*, p. 159; Mathur, *op. cit.*
17. Dey, *op. cit.*
18. (Calcutta 1924), p. 672.
19. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Reprint Delhi), p. 671.
20. *Op. cit.*
21. भारतीय कृष्टि का 'क' 'ख', (Allahabad 1955), p. 49.
22. Survey of India ¼" sheet No. 53 C, location 29° 55′ N 76° 5′ E.
23. V.S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, (2nd ed., 1973), p. 74.
24. V.S. Agrawala, in *Kādambinī*, Oct., 1962 cited by Mathur *op. cit.*, p. 839.
25. Vana-parvan 83.19—mentioned among *tīrthas* of Kurukṣetra :
    ......ततो जयन्त्यां राजेन्द्र सोमतीर्थं समाविशेत् ।।
26. The mound is locally called Chichadwala Theh, as informed by Shri G.P. Sharma of the Punjab Govt. Archaeology Department.
27. First mentioned as capital of Janamejaya Pārikṣita in a *gāthā* cited in *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 5.4.2 and *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 21.
28. Earliest mention in the name of the *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhitā*, a text of the Black *Yajurveda*, ed., Dr. Raghuvira, Lahore, 1932. For identification see p. 2.
29. Apparently spelled erroneously as Tūrghna in *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, V. 1.1. as ingeniously suggested by P.V. Kane in his monumental *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, (Poona 1953), Vol. IV, p. 681, n. 1541. It is, however, more likely to be a scribal error than an earlier form of the name.

6

The Identification of Ludhiana on the basis of the Epics and the Puranas

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे ‘लुधियाना’ नगरस्य निर्वचनविषये विमर्शः कृतः । ‘गजेटियर’ निर्मातृभिः आङ्गलदेशीयैर्विद्वद्भिस्तदाधारेण च अन्यैराधुनिकविद्वद्भिश्च स्थापितंयत् लुधियानानगरस्य स्थापनं १४८० ई० वर्षे लोदीवंशीयैः शासकैः कृतम् । अत्र लेखकमहोदयेन विवेचितं यत् ‘लुधियाना’ शब्दस्य ‘आना’ पदं संस्कृतभाषाया निवासस्थानवाचकस्य ‘अयन’ शब्दस्य अवशेषमात्रमस्ति । यथा उत्पलाना (उत्पलायन), भरताना (भरतायन) इत्यादि शब्देषु । मुस्लिमशासकैस्तु निवासस्थानवाचकशब्देषु प्रायेण ‘आबाद’ इत्यादीनि प्रत्ययानि संयोजितानि यथा औरंगाबाद इत्यादि स्थानेषु । ‘अयनं’ तु संस्कृतपदमस्ति; मुस्लिमशासकैस्तु प्रायेण परिसियनभाषाया एवं शब्दाः संयोजिताः। लेखकमहोदयेन स्थापितं यत् ‘लुधियाना’ शब्दः संस्कृतभाषाया ‘ऐलधान’ शब्दस्यैव परिवर्तितं रूपम् । वाल्मीकीये रामायणे तु भरतेन मातुलस्थानाद् अयोध्यां प्रति प्रयातेन नद्याः संस्तरणस्योल्लेखोऽस्ति । ऐलस्तु इलापुत्रस्य पुरुरवसः नाम वितायतम् । पुरूरवसः उर्वश्याश्चाख्यानं पुराणतिहासेषु सुप्रसिद्धमस्ति । लेखकमहोदयस्य विवेचनानुसारतः ऐलधानं पुरूरवसः राजधानी आसीत् । अस्मिन् विषये विदुषा लेखकेन प्रयागसमीपे पुराणेतिहासेषु प्रथितायाः ऐलराजधान्याः प्रतिष्ठाननगर्याः प्रामाण्यविषयेऽपि शंका कृता । ऊहितञ्च यत् पश्चाद्वर्तिभिः पुराणकारैः प्रतिष्ठानं ऐलस्य राजधानी प्राचीनतथ्यानां विस्मरणात् निरूपिता । वस्तुतस्तु वैदिकसमये प्रथिते पञ्चनदप्रदेशे स्थिते ऐलधाननाम्ना प्रसिद्धे आधुनिके लुधियाना नगरे एव ऐलस्य राजधानी आसीत् इति च प्रतिपादितमत्र ।]

Fallacies, once born, die hard. While in everyday life they lead to embarassing situations, in history they give birth to wrong postulates and often block the correct line of research. This could not be illustrated better than with the identification of the city of Ludhiana,[1] in the Punjab, with the Lodies.[2]

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The idea originated with the gazetteers,[3] first prepared by the British, and has since been accepted by the writers of regional history[4] and adopted by reference works like the Encyclopaedia Brittanica[5] which repeats that "the town of Ludhiana was founded in 1480 by two of the Lodi races (then ruling at Delhi) from whom it derives its name". The apparent phonetic similarity easily suggested the deceptive equation of Ludhiana with Lodiana. It looked too natural to require an examination in the light of cogent historical evidence. As a matter of fact there is none whatsoever to support it.

Although the Lodi Sultans probably loosely controlled this region between 1480 A.D. and 1620 and Jalal Khan, grandson of Nihang Khan, might have built a large fort at the site of the present old fort of Ludhiana with the bricks obtained from the prehistoric remains of Sunet[6] there is no evidence to warrant the suggestion that the town itself was founded by the Lodi chiefs Yusuf Khan and Nihang Khan. There is enough, on the contrary, to demolish it.

In the first place the derivation of Ludhiana from Lodi will have to stand on the formation of the name with ānā which has its origin in the name-ending *Ayana* used in Sanskrit place-names. It has no parallel in Arabic or Persian. Nor am I aware of any Urdu place-names having this ending. The suffix most favourite with the Moslems was Ābād as the names like Allahabad, Hyderabad, Islamabad, Ahmadabad, Sekundarabad, Moradabad, Mustafabad, Faizabad, Tughlakabad, Akbarabad, Shahjahanabad and Aurangabad would show. The reason is simple. It was from Persian. They did adopt name-endings of Sanskrit origin also but only those which were common in the medieval times *e.g.* Pura, Garh or, to a lesser extent, Nagara. Names like Alamgirpur, Nasirpur, Sultanpur, Abdullapur, Ismailpur, Ahmadgarh, Najafgarh, Ashrafgarh, Zafargarh, Aligarh, Muzaffarnagar and Ahmednagar are cases in point.[7]

The endings ānā, from Sanskrit *Ayana* (place of refuge), and ālā from Sanskrit Ālaya (house, dwelling), are conspicuously absent from the place-names of the Mohammedan period. They are, as far as I can see, restricted to place-names coming down from early Hindu period and survive in names like Kalsana (Kalasyāyana), Uplana (Utpalāyana), Julana (Jaulāyana), Bharatana (Bharatāyana), Ambala (Ambālaya), Barnala (Varuṇālaya) and Karnal (Karṇālaya) *etc.*[8] The ending ānā is not of Moslem origin and the Lodis could not have adopted Sanskrit Ayana for naming a place after them. The equation of Ludhiana with Lodiana is therefore unwarranted and must be rejected as a counsel of despair.

For the origin of the name Ludhiana we have to look elsewhere, and luckily for us, not very far. It is indeed surprising that it should have remained unidentified with its real form so long in face of so apparent a reference as is available in this case. Actually the ending in Ludhiana is not Ayana at all. The name, originally, was Ailadhāna—a Tatpuruṣa compound formation—Ailasya dhānaṃ. Aila is obviously for Purūravā, son of Ilā by Budha, and grandson of Manu-Vaivasvata.[9] Dhāna (m.f.n.) is derived from the root √dhā to put, set, lay in or on, and means a receptacle, seat or case as in Agnidhāna, Rajjudhāna, Kṣuradhāna *etc.* and the site of a habitation as in Rājadhānī.[10] Here it undoubtedly means 'the seat, city or capital of King Purūravā.[11] This is by no means a solitary instance of the use of Dhāna in this sense. There are others like Aṃśudhāna,[12] Vāṭadhāna,[13] Śavadhāna,[14] Śaradhāna,[15] Dāśadhāna and Kaṇṭhadhāna.[16]

Nor would the philological transition of Ailadhāna to Ludhiana look unnatural or even unusual. It involves virtually the dropping of only one syllable 'ai'[17]. But of course the consonant 'dha' should also normally change to 'ha'[18] which would give us the form 'Lahāna' almost exactly as it has been spelt by the noted Moslem historian Mohammed Abul Qasim Firishta, a contemporary of Akbar.[19] It is very pertinent to note that Firishta gives the name of the city as Lohana[20] and not as Ludhiana or Lodiana which would most certainly have been the case if the city had been known, in his time, to have originated with the Lodis. The transformation of Lahāna or Lohana to Ludhiana is, therefore, a recent phenomenon, apparently facilitated by the misconceived adoption, by the British gazetteer-compilers, of a connection between the city and the Lodis. Nevertheless for a firm identification of Ludhiana with Ailadhāna we must see if it fits in the geographical perspective of Ailadhāna.

Ailadhāna has been described in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa as a town on the Sutlej[21] and its location so strikingly matches with that of modern Ludhiana that it is surprising that scholars who undertook a study of ancient Indian geography[22] or a specialised study of the Rāmāyaṇa itself[23] should have failed to take note of it. Vālmīki's geographical knowledge of this region finds expression in two passages of the Rāmāyaṇa. The first of these[24] describes the northward journey of the messengers going from Ayodhyā to Kekaya to fetch Bharata. The second,[25] which is directly relevant to our purpose, gives the route taken by Bharata from Kekaya to Ayodhyā as follows :—

स प्राङ्मुखो राजगृहादभिनिर्याय वीर्यवान् ।
ततः सुदामां द्युतिमान् संतीर्यावेक्ष्य तां नदीम् ॥
ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रत्यक्स्रोतस्तरङ्गिणीम् ।
शतद्रूमतरच्छ्रीमान्नदीमिक्ष्वाकुनन्दनः ॥२
ऐलधाने नदीं तीर्त्वा प्राप्य चापरपर्वतान् ।
शिलामाकुर्वतीं तीर्त्वा आग्नेयं शल्यकर्षणम् ॥३

सत्यसन्धः शुचिर्भूत्वा प्रेक्षमाणः शिलावहाम् ।
अभ्यगात् स महाशैलान् वनं चैत्ररथं प्रति ।। 4
सरस्वतीं च गङ्गा च युग्मेन प्रतिपद्य च ।
उत्तरान् वीरमत्स्यानां भारुण्डं प्राविशद् वनम् ।।५
वेगिनीं च कुलिङ्गाख्यां ह्लादिनीं पर्वतावृताम् ।
यमुनां प्राप्य संतीर्णो बलमाश्वासयत् तदा ।।६

… … … …

भागीरथीं दुष्प्रतरां सोंऽशुधाने महानदीम् ।
उपायाद् राघवस्तूर्णं प्राग्वटे विश्रुते पुरे ।।९

It is not proposed to deal with the whole of this passage here. Only those portions will be examined which are strictly relevant for our purpose.

Starting eastward from Rājagṛha, the capital of Kekayas,[26] Bharata crossed the Sutlej at the point of Ailadhāna and reaching the (Shiwalik) foothills he forded another river and headed for higher mountains in the direction of the Caitraratha forest.[27] Crossing the Sarasvatī and the Gaṅgā together[28] he entered the Bhāruṇḍa forest to the north of the brave Matsyas and forded the fast-flowing and noisy Yamunā, surrounded by hills. Then he rested his soldiers.

Barua[29] has considered the passage and read in it all the Punjab rivers barring the Bias. He takes Hrādinī or 'noisy' for Jhelum, Dūrapārā or 'broad-channelled' for Chenab and Tiryakṣrotaḥ[30] or 'tortuously flowing' for the Ravi. Śatadru or Sutlej is, of course, specifically mentioned. Barua's reasoning is that the rivers Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi, left unnoticed in the first passage were enumerated by Vālmīki in the second. This would be his justification for the absence of Bias here. The argument is fallacious. Firstly, Gaṅgā has been mentioned in both the passages.[31] Secondly, which is more important, the words Hrādinī, Dūrapārā and Tiryakṣrotaḥ have nowhere else in literature been used as names of the rivers Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi respectively. As a matter of fact the expressions Hrādinī, Dūrapārā and Tiryakṣrotaḥ are pure and simple adjectives which could be used to qualify any big river.[32] In this case it happens to be the Sutlej.

Bharata crossed the noisy, broad-channelled and tortuous Sutlej at Ailadhāna. That this spot was in the plains is clear from the fact that he is said to have headed towards the foothills[33] from here. The ancient trunk-route from east to northwest, however, adhered to the Himalayan foothills as closely as possible for easy fording of the rivers before they gained in volume and developed extensive flood-plains.[34] Bharata also did so in case of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā. Then why did he make an exception in case of Sutlej ? For the simple reason that he found it Sudāmā or easily fordable,[35] as the second line of the first verse says. The only logical literal rendering of the relevant portion, therefore, would be as follows :

"Then finding the noisy, broad-channelled and tortuous Sutlej easily fordable the illustrious scion of Ikṣvāku crossed it at Ailadhāna and reaching the foothills..."

The crossing at Ailadhāna was indeed the only exception that Bharata was able to make to the traditional trunk-route in his eastward march. He tried it again in attempting a crossing of the Gaṅgā at Aṃśudhāna but failed and had to make it upstream at Prāgvaṭa.[36] Bharata was undoubtedly risking these hazardous attempts in his anxiety to reach Ayodhyā as fast as possible.[37] The foothills reached by him from Ailadhāna must be those about the present town of Panjaur. From here onwards he stuck to the Himalayan piedmont belt and crossed the noisy and fast flowing Yamunā at a point where it was surrounded by mountains. The crossing was tiresome enough to necessitate a restful break in the journey.

The Sutlej is notorious for shifting its course from time to time and it has in earlier days flowed right by the side of this city. A small channel still exists close by and is called "Buḍḍhā Daryā" or the "old river".[38] Vālmīki's description of Ailadhāna therefore matches perfectly with the location of the modern city of Ludhiana. It is also in agreement with the information we gather about Purūravā Aila from traditional accounts.

Although as we have already seen, Ailadhāna would mean seat of Ilā's son, the Purāṇas mention Pratiṣṭhāna as his capital and wrongly locate it on the Gaṅgā near Prayāga.[39] This is not surprising since by the age of the Purāṇas Purūravā had already become, more or less, mythological personality. In fact the Purūravā-Urvaśī love-legend—the oldest Indo-European love story[40]—had been overtaken by mythical elements even by the time of the Ṛgveda where it has been given in the form of a dialogue between the two.[41] This hoary antiquity easily explains the confusion in the mind of the Purāṇa-compilers. By then the centre of civilisation had shifted from the valley of the Sarasvatī to the basin of the Gaṅgā[42] and the tendency to transplant name of the ancient personages and places to new pastures had taken its toll.

Purūravā was not a child of myth although myths came to be woven around his lustrous personality very early. That he must have lived in flesh and blood is clear from the fact that apart from the Purāṇas[43] and the Epics[44] he has been mentioned in the Saṃhitās[45] and the Brāhmaṇas.[46] He got his matronymic Aila from his mother Ilā and appears to have succeeded Manu's son Sudyumna who, probably being childless, adopted him as his son and lineal successor giving him the patronymic of Saudyumni.[47] His immediate successors were Āyu, Nahuṣa and then Yayāti, father of Yadu, Turvaṣu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru[48] who were the progenitors of the five Ṛgvedic tribes named after them and often identified with the Pañcajanas of the Ṛgveda.[49]

All these personalities are associated with the region of the Sarasvatī in literature. Kurukṣetra was the field of activity of Purūravā himself. He discovered his lost beloved Urvaśī in the lotus lake Anyataḥplakṣā of Kurukṣetra,[50] later called Plakṣatīrtha in the Purāṇas.[51] The Mahābhārata mentions a tīrtha named after her in Kurukṣetra.[52] The Ṛgveda speaks of Sarasvatī blessing the prayers of Nāhuṣa Yayāti with riches, ghee and milk.[53] This is repeated in the Mahābhārata.[54] The Mahābhārata also mentions a tīrtha at the bank of the Sarasvatī named Yāyāta after him.[55] If the term Pañcajanas of the Ṛgveda refers to the descendants of Yayāti's five sons then they were in the region of the Sarasvatī which helped them to grow.[56] In any case Purūravā's descendants Yayāti and the Purus are located in the Ṛgveda on the banks of the Sarasvatī[57] and Puru, it should be remembered was installed by Yayāti as his successor in the ancestral sovereignty.[58]

For Purūravā's Pratiṣṭhāna, therefore, one must look somewhere in the vicinity of the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī.[59] That however, deserves a more exhaustive discussion than could be undertaken here. It is, of course, not unsafe to conclude that Purūravā appears to have shifted his capital from Pratiṣṭhāna to Ailadhāna, which he founded on the bank of the Sutlej, probably for strategic reasons, and christened after his own matronymic.

While providing a valuable piece of evidence for settling the issue of Purūravā's historicity[60] once for all this identification of Ludhiana will also be helpful in defining the region where Manu Vaivasvata set up the first ever traditional royal dynasty of India.

It is hardly necessary to add that it invests the name and site of Ludhiana with the antiquity of the oldest pre-historic cities of India.

Notes and References

1. 30° 56′N and 75⁰ 52′ E. on the Grand Trunk Road.
2. The identification with Bahudhānyaka (Moti Chandra, Sārthavāha, Patna, 1953 p. 16) is too widely off the mark to deserve serious notice.
3. Ludhiana District Gazetteer, Lahore, 1904 pp. 15-16 relies on a local history of one Bute Shah which ascribes the renaming of the old village of Mir Hotaa as Ludhiana to Nihang Khan, a Chief of Sikandar Shah Lodi (1489-1527

A.D.). The Gazetteer calls this source "generally very reliable" but "without vouching for its accuracy" proceeds to demonstrate the absurdity of its account by stating that the earliest mention of the Town appears to occur under the year 1420 when Tughan Rais, in rebellion against Khizar Khan Sayyad (1414-1421 A.D.) retreated across the Sutlej by the town of Ludhiana. Also see Imperial Gazetteer of India, Oxford 1908, Vol. XVI pp. 207-8.

4. Cf. B.S. Nijjar, Punjab under the Sultans, Delhi 1968 p. 196. Also the revised edition of the Ludhiana District Gazetteer, Ed. V.S. Suri, Chandigarh, 1970 p. 1.
5. Ed. 1962. Vol. XIV, p. 471.
6. Ludhiana District Gazetteer, Lahore Ed. p. 15.
7. The words Pura, Nagara and Durga were, earlier, used for capital. For a detailed discussion in the light of evidence from Pāṇini, Kauṭilya, Patañjali and Manu see K.P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, Fourth Ed Bangalore 1967. pp. 230 & 237-8.
8. All these place-names are from Haryana and Punjab. For Jaulayana see Pāṇini IV 2.54 & V.S. Agrawala, India as known to Pāṇini, Varanasi, 1963, p. 501.
9. cf. P.L. Bharagava, India in the Vedic Age, Lucknow 1956, pp 35-6.
10. Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary p. 514.
11. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 234, accepts it as a placename so do commentaries on the Rāmāyaṇa. cf. Tilaka ऐलधाने तदाख्यग्रामे...Śiromaṇi, ऐलधानाभिधनगरे ...1; Bhūṣaṇā, ऐलधानाख्ये नगरे नदी पूर्वोक्तां शतद्रूं तीर्त्वा......1 Vide the Gujarati Ed. Bombay p. 811 on ii, 71, 3.
12. Rām. ii, 71.9 Gujarati Ed. where the commentaries Tilaka, Śiromaṇi & Bhūṣaṇā explain it as the name of a village. Monier Williams, op. cit. p. 1. also accepts it as the name of a village. King Aṃśumat had succeeded Sagara after his father Asamañjasa was discarded for cruelty to citizens; (P.L. Bhargava op. cit. pp. 141-2) Aṃśumat recovered the Aśvamedha horse of his grand-father Sagara from the hermitage of sage Kapila in the vicinity of the Gaṅgā for whose appearance he died practising penance. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Gita Press Ed. ix, 8, 28-29 and 9, 1.

इत्थं गीतानुभावस्तं भगवान् कपिलो मुनिः ।
अंशुमन्तमुवाचेदमनुगृह्य धिया नृप ॥
अश्वोऽयं नीयतां वत्स पितामहपशुस्तव ।
इमे च पितरो दग्धा गङ्गाम्भोऽर्हन्ति नेतरत् ॥
अंशुमांश्च तपस्तेपे गङ्गानयनकाम्यया ।
कालं महान्तं नाशक्नोत् ततः कालेन संस्थितः ॥

Aṃśumat had his kingdom in the region of the Gaṅgā and evidently founded and made the new town on its bank, his capital. The name Aṁśudhāna is therefore of particular interest.

13. Taken by Monier Williams (op. cit. p. 939) as the name of a people and their country. Mentioned in Mahābhārata (Gita Press Ed.) Udyoga, 19, 31, Bhīṣma 9, 47 and Droṇa 11, 17 *etc*; Vāmanapurāṇa (Kashiraj Trust, Benares, 1967) 13, 37, *with the Vāhlīkas, Ābhīras Kālatoyakas* Bṛhatsaṃhitā XIV, 26 mentions its people among people of the north-cf. J.F. Fleet, Indian Antiquary XXII, 1893 p. 93, Topographical lists of the Bṛhatsaṃhitā. It was connected with and located contiguously to Vāhlīkas, Madras and Sauvīras. cf. B.C. Law, Countries and Peoples of India from Epic and Purāṇic sources, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute XVII, 1935-36. p. 231. Rightly identified with the present town of Bhatinda by V.S. Agrawal. See Vijayendra Kumar Mathur Sthānāvalī, Government of India, 1969, p. 839.
14. Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa 57, 36 mentions its people among people of the north with the Vāṭadhānas, Śiviḍas Dāserakas *etc*. cf. B. C. Law, Tribes in Ancient India, Poona 1943. p. 428. Not yet identified.
15. Mentioned in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā xiv, 26. as a people in the northern division-Fleet op. cit. Not identified.
16. The last two are from the Parāśarasaṃhitā. Vide Bhagavaddatta, Bhāratavarṣa Kā Bṛhat Itihāsa Vol. II. p. 160. Not identified. Bhagavaddatta suspects the origin of Ludhiana in some name ending with Dhāna but fails to trace it to Ailadhāna.
17. For dropping of vowels see A. C. Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit, Lahore; 1939. p. 30, rule 74.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 13; rule 13.
19. cf. Sri Ram Sharma, A Bibliography of Mughal India, Bombay N.D. p. 38.
20. cf. Kishori Saran Lal, Twilight of the Sultanate, Bombay; 1963 p. 81, n. 77.
21. Location near a river was a peculiar feature of towns with 'Dhāna' name-ending as is clear from Aıladhāna and Vāṭadhāna on the Sutlej and Aṃśudhāna on the Gaṅgā. The Sutlej once flowed near Bhatinda cf. M.L. Bhargava. The geography of Ṛgvedic India, Lucknow, 1964, p. 106. There is also a village named Karadhāna on river Tangri near Ambala Cantonment. Vāmanapurāṇa mentions a people named Vāridhānas undoubtedly connected with the place of this name. They are mentioned after the Śūrpārakas from Sopara not far from Bombay. Vāridhāna too, obviously refers to some place on a river or near the sea, not yet identified. cf. D.C. Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient & Mediaeval India; Delhi, 1960. p. 31.
22. Nando Lal Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, London 1927; Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, Calcutta, 1924; Anundoram Barua, Ancient Geography of India, Gauhati, Reprint

1971; B.C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, Paris, 1954. *etc.*

23. S.N. Vyas, India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age, Delhi, 1967.
24. Venkateshvar Press, Bombay Ed. ii, 68, 12-21.
25. *Ibid.* ii, 71, 1-8.
26. Placed between the rivers Sindh and Jhelum (Vedic Index Vol. I pp. 185-6; V.S. Agrawal, India as known to Pāṇini, p. 51; Barua *op. cit.* pp. 23-4; H.C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 4th ed. pp. 36-7) or the Bias and the Sutlej (Dey, *op. cit.* p. 98). In either case it was beyond the Sutlej. Bṛhatsaṃhitā mentions it among people in the northern division. Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 179.
27. According to *Harivaṃśa purāṇa*, Gita Press Ed. 26, 6. it was near the Gaṅgā and Purūravā stayed here with Urvaśī :

    वने चैत्ररथे रम्ये तथा मन्दाकिनीतटे ।
    अलकायां विशालायां नन्दने च वनोत्तमे ॥

28. He could not have crossed the Sarasvatī and the Gaṅgā together. The text is faulty unless, of course, Gaṅgā here refers to some small tributary of the Sarasvatī.
29. *op. cit.*, p. 22 ff.
30. Barua accepts Tiryakṣrotaḥ in place of Pratyakṣrotaḥ which means 'flowing westward' and is obviously an adjective applicable to several North Indian rivers.
31. ii, 68, 13 and, ii, 71, 10.
32. See Monier Williams *op. cit.*, pp. 1307 and 487. Tiryakṣrotaḥ is similar to Pratyakṣrotaḥ, p. 675. In verse 6 of the passage Hrādinī is again used to qualify the Yamunā.
33. For Apara in the sense of 'lower or distant' see *ibid.* p. 50.
34. cf. R.K. Mukerji, Hindu Civilisation, Vol. II, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay Ed p. 314; T.W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, Calcutta Reprint 1950 p. 64; S.M. Ali, the Geography of the Purāṇas, Delhi 1966. p. 176.
35. From the root √दम् to subdue, with the prefix सु added in the sense of 'easily'.
36. Rām. ii, 71, 9-10. It is interesting to note that an identical situation was much later-in July, 1421-faced in case of Sutlej by Sikandar Tuhfa and Zirak Khan, chiefs of Mubarak Shah Sayyad when they had to ford it upstream at Ropar, finding it in spate at Ludhiana while in pursuit of Jasrat Khokhar cf. Kishori Saran Lal, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.
37. Bharata's anxiety and departure in hot haste is evident from Rāmāyaṇa ii, 70, 24-25;

    स दत्तं कैकयेन्द्रेण धनं तन्नाभ्यनन्दत ।
    भरतः कैकयीपुत्रो गमनत्वरया तदा ।

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बभूव ह्यस्य हृदये चिन्ता सुमहती तदा ।
त्वरया चापि दूतानां स्वप्नस्यापि च दर्शनात् ॥

38. cf. Ludhiana District Gazetteer, Lahore ed. pp. 2 & 12.
39. cf. Harivaṃśapurāṇa, 26.49 :

राज्यं स कारयामास प्रयागे पृथिवीपतिः ।
उत्तरे जाह्वीतीरे प्रतिष्ठाने महायशाः ॥

40. Jogiraj Basu, India of the age of the Brāhmaṇas, Calcutta, 1969. p. 278.
41. X. 95.
42. cf. S.B. Chaudhuri, Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, Calcutta. 1955, p. 195.
43. P. L. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 35, n. 3.
44. Mbh. Ādi. 75; Śānti 72 & 73 *etc*; Rām. vii. 56.
45. Ṛg. I, 31. 4. and x, 95; Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā viii. 10.
46. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xi. 5.1, & xiii. 5.4.12.
47. P. L. Bhargava *op. cit.*, p. 37.
48. F. E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Reprint, Delhi. 1972. p. 85 ff.
49. Vedic Index Vol. II. p. 467.
50. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Ed. A. Weber, Reprint, Leipzig 1924) xi. 5.1.4.
...तिरोभूतां स आध्याजल्पन्कुरूक्षेत्रं समया चचारान्यतः प्लक्षेति बिसवती तस्यैँ हाध्यन्तेन वब्राज तद्ध ता अप्सरस आतयो भूत्वा परिपुप्लुविरे...
51. Vāyu 91. 31-32.

चचार पृथिवीं सर्वां मार्गमाण इतस्ततः ।
अथापश्यत्स तां राजा कुरुक्षेत्रे महाबलः ।
प्लक्षतीर्थे पुष्करिण्यां हेमवत्यां समाप्लुताम् ।
क्रीडन्ती मप्सरोभिश्च पञ्चभिः सह शोभनाम् ।

Viṣṇu (Gita Press Ed) iv, 6.62-63. relates the incident without naming the lake :
...तां चापश्यन् व्यपगताम्बर एवोन्मत्तरूपो बभ्राम । कुरुक्षेत्रे चाम्भोजसरस्यन्याभिः चतसृभिरप्सरोभिस्समवेतामुर्वशीं ददर्श ।

52. Vana, 84. 157 :

उर्वशीतीर्थमासाद्य ततः सोमाश्रमं बुधः ।
कुम्भकर्णाश्रमं गत्वा पूज्यते भुवि मानवः ॥

53. Ṛg. vii, 95.2 :

एका चेतत् सरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिश्य आ समुद्रात् ।
रायश्चे तन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेर्घृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुषाय ॥

54. Droṇa, 63.4 :

    सरस्वती पुण्यतमा नदोनां तथा समुद्राः सरित : साद्रयश्च ।
    ईजानाय पुण्यतमाय राज्ञे घृतं पयो दुदुहुर्नाहुषाय ।। and

    Śalya 41.33 :

    तत्र यज्ञे ययातेश्च महाराज सरस्वती ।
    सर्पि: पयश्च सुस्राव नाहुषस्य महात्मन : ।।

55. Śalya 41, 32.. ...। यत्रो तीर्थं महाबाहुर्यायातं पृथिवीपते ।।
56. vi, 61, 12 :

    त्रिषधस्था सप्तधातु: पञ्चजाता वर्धयन्ती ।
    वाजे वाजे हव्या भूत् ।।

57. vii, 95.2 (n. 53. supra).
    vii. 96.2 :

    उभे यत् ते महिना शुभ्रं अन्धसी अधिक्षियन्ति पूरव: ।
    सा नो बोध्यवित्री मरूत्सखा चोद् राधो मघोनाभ् ।।

    This is supported by the Mahābhārata which locates Yayāti in Kurukṣetra and the region of the Sarasvatī :

    cf. Vana 129.3, 4 & 12 :

    देशश्च नाहुषस्यायं यज्वन: पुण्यकर्मण: ।
    सार्वभौमस्य कौन्तेय ययातेरमितौजस: ।।
    स्पर्धमानस्य शक्रेण तस्येदं यज्ञवास्त्विह ।।
    अत्रैव नाहुषो राजा राजन् क्रतुभिरिष्टवान् ।।
    ययातिर्बहुरत्नौधैर्यत्रेन्द्रो मुदमभ्यगात् ।।

58. P L. Bhargava. *op. cit.* p. 67.
59. cf. Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, Bhāratīya Kṛṣṭi Kā Ka Kha, Allahabad 1955. p. 49.
60. The authors of the Vedic Index (Vol. II. p. 3.) considered him "a mythical figure, pure and simple".

7

The Ailadhana-Ludhiana Equation —A Rejoinder

In the January 1977 issue of the Purāṇa[1] Shri Devendra Handa has taken note of our identification of Ailadhāna of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa[2] with the present town of Ludhiana in Punjab.[3] Handa starts by describing our arguments as brilliant but his mind is assailed by certain doubts which in no time multiply and invalidate all those brilliant arguments. Most of Handa's doubts have already been dealt with in our paper and the rest, we regret to say so, are either born of ignorance or a very casual approach to the subject. All the same it becomes our duty to make an endeavour to satisfy Shri Handa and any other reader who might have taken his note seriously. We are sorry for the inordinately long delay in discharging this obligation. Sh. Handa's note came to our notice long after its publication and our official pre-occupations caused further delay. So when at last we are at it we propose to subject Handa's doubts to a proper scrutiny and show how imaginary they are.

Handa calls our observation (according to him conviction) regarding the nearness to rivers of places with 'dhāna' name-ending fallacious on the plea that a town named Rathadhana is situated near Sonepat with no river in its vicinity. He does not give the pronunciation of the name with diacritical marks but obviously he reads it as Rathadhāna—a name with 'dhāna' ending. In this he is sadly mistaken. This village has a railway station next to Sonepat towards Delhi and the relevant ¼" sheet of the Survey of India[4] spells it as Rāthadhana. Actually the name is Rāṭhadhaṇā which we have confirmed from local people and Acharya Swami Omananda Sarasvati of the Jhajjar-Narela Gurukul[5] who is very well conversant with the region. So our observation remains unaffected based on facts as it is. In this situation it is unnecessary to comment on Handa's statement that Rathadhana is an ancient town as evidenced, by an old mound which he might well have seen only from a running train.

Handa appears to agree with us to the extent that the name Ludhiana has nothing to do with the Lodis.[5a] There can not be two opinions on this in view of the unmistakable evidence of the existence of this town long before the emergence of the Lodis on the scene of Indian history in 1451. In 1420 Tughan Rais, in rebellion against Khizer Khan, retreated across the Sutlej by the town of Ludhiana[6] Jasrat Khokar occupied Ludhiana and ravaged the country upto Rupar after the death of Khizer Khan on May 20, 1421.[7] Jasrat is again said to have retreated to Ludhiana in July 1421.[8] And finally in July 1421 the river is mentioned in spate at the point of Ludhiana which forced Sikandar Tuhfa & Zirak Khan to ford it upstream at Rupar.[9] Add to this the fact that no known Moslem historian of medieval India ascribes to them in general or any one of them in particular the founding or naming of Ludhiana and the Lodis are completely erased from the picture.

Ailadhāna, however, appears to Handa as an intruder on the scene. Talking of the relevant verses of the Rāmāyaṇa he asserts that they do not warrant a conclusion that Ailadhāna lay just on the bank of the Sutlej because from verse 3 it appears to him that the town stood on the northern bank of a river and it was after crossing the river at Ailadhāna that Bharata reached the mountains. He also thinks that the use of the root √तॄ once each in the first two verses and twice in the third verse indicates that Bharata crossed four rivers or rivulets, two before he reached Ailadhāna and two in between that town and Śalyakarṣana. According to him all the three uses of √तॄ in verses 1 and 2 and the first part of verse 3 cannot stand for crossing of the Sutlej alone.

Handa does not bother to name the four rivers or rivulets two of which, according to him, Bharata crossed before reaching Ailadhāna and two in between that town and Śalyakarṣaṇa. He does not realise that the very fact of his inability to think of any suitable river-names to fit in Vālmīki's account militates against his argument which is easily knocked out even otherwise. Let us look at the text and see if it justifies all the three uses of the verb √तॄ for the Sutlej. As we have shown elsewhere,[10] the relevant portion of the text has to be reconstructed as follows :

1. स प्राङ्मुखो राजगृहादभिनिर्याय वीर्यवान् ।
ततः सुदामां द्युतिमान् सन्तीर्यावेक्ष्य तां नदीम् ॥
2. ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रत्यक्स्रोतस्तरङ्गिणीम् ।
शतद्रूमतरच्छ्रीमान् नदीमिक्ष्वाकुनन्दनः ॥

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3. ऐलधाने नदीं तीर्त्वा प्राप्य चापरपर्वतान् ।
शिलामाकुर्वन्तीं तीर्त्वा आग्नेयीं शल्यकर्षणे ।।

4. सत्यसन्धः पथिगतान् प्रेक्षमाणः शिलावहान् ।
अत्ययात्स महाशैलान् वनं चैत्ररथं प्रति ।।

5. सरस्वतीं च गंगां च युग्मेन प्रतिपद्य च ।
उत्तरे वीरमत्स्यानां भारुण्डं प्राविशद्वनम् ।।

6. वेगिनीं च कुलिंगाख्यां ह्लादिनीं पर्वतावृताम् ।
यमुनां प्राप्य सन्तीर्णो बलमाश्वासयत्तदा ।।

7. शीतीकृत्य तु गात्राणि क्लांतानाश्वास्य वाजिनः ।
तत्र स्नात्वा च पीत्वा च प्रायादादाय चोदकम् ।।

8. राजपुत्रो महारण्यमनभीक्ष्णोपसेवितम् ।
भद्रो भद्रेण यानेन मारुतः खमिवात्ययात् ।।

9. भागीरथीं दुष्प्रतरां सोऽशुधाने महानदीम् ।
उपायाद्राघवस्तूर्णं प्राग्वटे विश्रुते पुरे ।।

10. स गंगां प्राग्वटे तीर्त्वा समायात् कुटकोष्ठिकाम् ।
सबलस्तां स तीर्त्वाथ समगाद् धर्मवर्धनम् ।।

Normally big rivers were in ancient times forded in the foot-hills where the bed is narrow. But Bharata crosses the Sutlej in the plains after verifying the depth of water and the force of the current as is evident from the second line of the first verse which says that Bharata got the easy fordability (सुदामात्व) of the river verified by a test-swim and then attempted the crossing with his full force. This is the only construction which can be put on this line as the use of the verb 'avekṣya'[11] clearly indicates. In ancient times such an exercise was, in all probability undertaken as a routine precaution in case of big rivers unless rendered unnecessary by readily available information.[12]

The second use of the verb √तॄ mentioning the crossing of the Śatadru in the second line of verse 2 is necessary and cannot be objected to. The third in the first line of verse 3 is needed to pinpoint the site of crossing of the river at the point of Ailadhāna and then the progress of the journey towards the smaller mountains. It is not clear on what ground Handa locates Ailadhāna on the northern bank of a river because the text does not justify any such assumption. The use of the words 'प्राप्य च' clearly signifies the lapse of time in reaching the smaller mountains after the crossing of the river at Ailadhāna. After all Vālmīki was not writing a day-to-day chronicle of events or a treatise on physical geography. He was composing a Mahākāvya and describing the journey only very briefly so that we cannot expect him to say that the party covered so many yojanas between the river and the smaller mountains. The idea is adequately conveyed by the use of the words 'प्राप्य च'.

That the crossing refers to the river Śatadru only can be easily seen. As already pointed out Handa is unable to name any other rivers to which Vālmīki might have referred. As a matter of fact we have already shown in the original article that all the expressions used in the first two verses qualify river Śatadru. They have not been used as names of rivers anywhere in Sanskrit literature. Their use as common adjectives can be easily demonstrated. Hrādinī has been used as an adjective of Yamunā by Vālmīki himself in ii. 65.6.[13] The use of Dūrapārā can be cited from the Mahābhārata.[14] It has also been used as an adjective of the Gaṅgā elsewhere.[15] Pratyakṣrotas is used again by Vālmīki in the same sense.[16] It has also been used as an epithet of the Narmadā.[17] For Sudāmā too we can again turn to Vālmīki.[18] It is interesting to note that Sudāmā for Śatadru which Bharata easily crossed at Ailadhāna in the plains matches perfectly with Duṣpratarā[19] for the Gaṅgā at Aṃśudhāna which had to be forded upstream at Prāgvaṭa. And Taraṅgiṇī simply means a river.[20] No further reasoning is therefore required to prove that these four words do not denote any particular rivers but are only common adjectives. The text names only one river in verse 2 which they can qualify and this river is Śatadru or the Sutlej.

In conferring four adjectives on the Śatadru Vālmīki has done no special favour to this important river. The description is fully in keeping with his style. Exactly the same number of adjectives has been given to the Yamunā a little later[21] when it is called Veginī, Kuliṅgākhyā, Hrādinī and Parvatāvṛtā. Further on[22] the Gaṅgā also gets three qualifying adjectives Bhāgīrathī, Duṣpratarā and Mahānadī. The Yamunā had to be crossed upstream in the mountains because it was flowing very fast and the use of Veginī with it again contrasts with that of Sudāmā with Śatadru. In the journey of the messengers the river Śaradaṇḍā also has four adjectives namely Prasannodakā, Divyā, Nānāvihagasevitā and Jalākulā[23] while the Ikṣumatī is qualified as Pitṛpaitāmahī and Puṇyā.[24] In the circumstances the absence of these adjectives with the great Śatadru would have been against the nature and style of Vālmīki. It is therefore the fault of Sh. Handa and not the poet if he is unable to utilise the three uses of the verb √तॄ and the four adjectives of the river in rendering the passage into proper English. We, on our part, find the following translation quite easy to follow :

"The brave prince Bharata left Rājagṛha on his eastward march. Having verified by a test-crossing that it was easily fordable the illustrious descendant of Ikṣvāku crossed the noisy, broad channelled and westerly Sutlej. Crossing it at Ailadhāna and then reaching the foothills......"

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There is nothing unnatural or incongruous in this poetic description unless one looks at it through the eyes of a geographer or an officer of the Public Works Department.

Handa's attack on the reading Lohana or Lodhana given by Firishta for Ludhiana is also unjustified. He declares that 'because of peculiarities of the Arabic and Persian scripts and languages Hindu names as given by Moslem Chroniclers have undergone considerable change'. As examples he cites Albiruni's recording of Māhūra for Mathura,[25] Ūrdabishau for Urdhvaviṣaya[26] and Dirwara for Draviḍa.[27] He also quotes instances, again from Albiruni, and from coins where a place-name written in the Arabic/Persian script has been read differently by different scholars. Now if he believes that some Hindu name has undergone considerable change at the hands of Firishta in being spelt as Lohana he gives no reason as to why this old Hindu name could not be Ailadhāna and if not Ailadhāna what else it could be. But in the next breath Handa appears to say something entirely opposite of this. "Ludhiana when written in Persian/Arabic script may also be read as Lohana. The difference between the two words written in Persian/Arabic script is so slight that even experts are liable to misread the words". Here he suggests that Firishta actually wrote the name as Ludhiana but it was misread as Lohana by scholars. But he does not stick to this stand too and the following sentence offers another surprise. "If Firishta has transcribed Ludhiana like 'Lohana' there is nothing wrong, because Lohana in the Persian/Arabic script may easily be confused for Ludhiana also". From what earlier source Firishta has transcribed Ludhiana like Lohana is Handa's secret which he does not divulge. In essence he says that if Firishta wrote Ludhiana it could be read as Lohana and if he wrote Lohana it could be read as Ludhiana. He won't say what he believes Firishta to have actually written. He does not say if anyone has deciphered Firishta's spellings as Ludhiana. And of course he does not take the trouble of looking up any manuscript of Firishta's work before branding his spelling of Lohana as confusing enough to warrant more than one readings. He rejects out of hand the testimony of authorities like Alexander Dow, Col. Briggs and K.S. Lal not on the basis of any evidence but on the basis of a fertile imagination. The confusion in his own mind is evident from the various positions he takes on a point which admits of no doubt.

If we are not wrong Handa considers himself an epigraphist and yet he forgets the large number of disputed readings even in Devanāgarī and Brāhmī manuscripts, inscriptions and coins. The simple fact is that when a word is not scribed clearly it can be easily misread irrespective of the script employed. We are therefore unable to appreciate Handa's stand that even clearly written words in Persian/Arabic script are liable to be misread by careful experts. Nor can we accept Handa's aspersions on the competence of Firishta or his readers and translators.

The accuracy and reliability of Firishta's account for medieval Indian history is too well-known to need fresh recognition. In the words of a noted authority[28] on this period of Indian history Firishta's "work would compare favourably even with modern historians". His celebrated translator also spares no pains to translate and transliterate him most faithfully and accurately. "Of all the languages in the world" remarks Col. Briggs in the preface to his translation[29] of Firishta, "the Persian character is perhaps the most difficult to decipher with accuracy and the most liable to orthographical errors..... where a dot above a letter is negative and one below the same letter positive......The reader of history is rigidly bound to adhere to the letter of the text. It has been my wish to avoid both these errors by giving Firishta to the public in the very words he would probably have used, had he, as a native of the East, written in English. I have ventured to make no alterations but have endeavoured to render obscure passages clear, by explanatory notes". Col. Briggs used an earlier translation of Col. Dow with the utmost care as he specifically says,[30] "On examining Col. Dow's translation of the History of the Kings of Dehly, I found it so difficult to follow the narrative, owing to the confusion in the proper names of persons and of places, that I had to consult the original throughout and my notes and alterations alone made nearly a volume".

Obviously Col. Briggs was fully conscious of the pitfalls in the decipherment of the Persian script and took special care to check and re-check the names of persons and places in Col. Dow's translation and the original of Firishta. Prof. Lal[31] also fully satisfied himself of the reading Lohana probably from the manuscript because he does not doubt the reading but blames Firishta for spelling the name wrongly. We find no reason to doubt the accuracy of Briggs and Lal but we were keen to lay hands on some manuscript of Firishta's work. Luckily we found one in the Punjab University library[32] at Chandigarh prepared in Persian Nastaliq from Firishta's original and it is highly satisfying to say that it supports the reading Ladhana which is as clearly written as Handa might like to have it. Any possibility of doubt is further ruled out from the fact that Firishta mentions the name not once but at least three times at different places,[33] always using the same spellings. There is thus no reason whatsoever to warrant the suggestion that the name should be read as Ludhiana.

As for the examples quoted by him from Albiruni's India no scholar having the slightest knowledge of linguistics will find fault with Albiruni's spelling of Mathura as Māhūra, of Ūrdhvaviṣaya as Ūrdabishau and of Draviḍa as Dırwara. It is surprising that Handa should fail to recognise the current forms of the original Sanskrit names in all these cases and many more noted by Sachau. Even Albiruni's elder contemporary Al Utbi[34] spells Mathura as Mahura only slightly differently from him. In Sachau's opinion Albiruni's knowledge of Sanskrit, although not very profound, was wide enough and practical.[35] Suniti Kumar Chatterji[36] is of the view that he read a lot of Sanskrit by himself after acquiring its elementary knowledge with the help of Indian Pandits like the later European scholars. He quotes from Kapila and Vyāsa, from Varāha Mihira and the Purāṇas, with equal felicity and understanding and with the knowledge of the original language of these Indian writers. "As in contemporary Indian usage, the line of demarcation between the correct Sanskrit of books and the vernacular forms is not strictly maintained by Albiruni. At times he gives Prakritic or vernacular forms in place of, or side with, Sanskrit forms". The number of north-western Indian vernacular words in Albiruni's book, in place of the expected Sanskrit, is indeed so large that we can form some idea of the phonology and phonetic habits of this vernacular. This is the opinion of no less an authority than Prof. Chatterji and it shows how hastily Handa arrives at his conclusions.

Handa agrees that the name-ending Ayana used in Sanskrit place-names was not adopted by the Muslims but he gives a number of names ending in ānā which, according to him, go back only upto the medieval period on the basis of the available antiquarian remains. He cannot trace back their name-ending ānā to Sanskrit Ayana as these places have not yielded any early historic relics. Invoking the same argument in case of Ludhiana he declares that the remains obtained from Ludhiana so far are some silver coins of the Mughal period and late medieval pottery from the northern skirts of the city, particularly between the Fort and the Goshala bridge, facing the Buddha Nala. Handa invests this verdict with authority lent by his domicile of Ludhiana. We regret our inability to accept this last fact as a substitute for evidence. If Handa's word is taken at its face value then Ludhiana would be a town going back only to the late medieval period which is absurd unless of course all reliable evidence pointing to the contrary is thrown to the winds. Handa does not say if he has excavated under the Fort and if so how deep he has gone. The Fort is indeed the most potential site for any possible excavations. Nor does he realise that the point where the ancient trunk route crossed the Sutlej provides a natural site for the existence of a town from time immemorial.

The trouble with Handa is that he considers himself to be the last word on archaeology and makes statements without realising how sweeping they are. For instance he names about fifty towns in Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and U.P., ending in ānā and declares that they cannot be derived from Ayana-ending Sanskrit names. This he does in his characteristic style without offering any alternative derivation for their ānā ending. If they are all recent names they should be easy to explain and linguistically they should not have changed so much as to become unintelligible without an exercise in their reconstruction. Such an exercise would perhaps be just a trifle for Handa and we should love to be enlightened by him. And we have no way to verify that he has scientifically and thoroughly probed into the antiquity of all these places apart from many others on which he has pronounced all too frequently. Finally just for argument's sake what is there to warrant an assumption that during the medieval period all new townships were founded and named by Mohammedans only. Will it not be wrong to assert that Hindus established or named no new townships during the Mohammedan period ? And if they did so then what precludes the adoption by them of the most popular traditional ānā or Ayana name ending for their place-names ?

The non-appearance of relics of the Rāmāyaṇa age at Ludhiana cannot be an argument against an identification that appears to be most natural. On the contrary it should provide irresistible justification for a fuller probe by the archaeologist. After all the dogged perseverance of western archaeologists is bearing fruit in relation to Biblical sites. There is no reason why it should not help in India. As a matter of fact there are many equally old sites mentioned even in Vedic literature which have yielded precious little in the name of ancient relics not to talk of remains corresponding to their literary age. Mānuṣa,[37] Āsandīvat[38] and Kapiṣṭhala,[39] are only some of these.

There can of course be several explanations for the absence of archaeological remains.[40] They can be buried gradually as soil builds up over a site or quickly under drifting sand or under mud after a catastrophic flood. At sites along lakes or seas they may be eroded by wave action and rising sea levels or subsistence of land cover them with water. They can be affected by earthquakes that destroy buildings by mudslides that can bury or even move entire settlements. And of course in case of sites alongside rivers they can be washed away by turbulent waters prone to shift their courses from time to time which fate Ailadhāna undoubtedly suffered at the hands of the notorious Sutlej-Śatadru of the hundred courses—which in earlier days flowed right by its side. In face of all these hazards the wonder is not that archaeological remains are not always found at early sites but that they are found at all. This only proves how dangerous it is to disregard the time honoured maxim that the "*argumentum ex silentio*" is not to be given too much importance.

As to Handa's suggestions that Sunet was an important and famous city of ancient India and might have once stood on the bank of the Sutlej it is a wild and gratuitous presumption. Sunet[41] is situated on the Jagraon road far away from the Grand Trunk Road, about 8 km. to the west south-west of Ludhiana and 11 km. from the Sutlej. It is ridiculous to suggest that simply because the Sutlej once flowed near Ludhiana it should also have flowed near Sunet in the past. It is even more absurd to expect Vālmīki to take note of Sunet simply because it was an important town when actually he was naming a place which provided a ford on the Sutlej and stood on the trunk-route going from the east to the north-west. Vālmīki was not giving us a list of important towns of the Punjab and Ailadhāna came to be mentioned only as it fell on Bharata's way from Kekaya to Ayodhyā. All the same this mention is as natural as that of Śalyakarṣaṇa[42] on the Āgneyī and Amśudhāna,[43] Prāgvaṭa[44] or Hastināpura[45] on the Gaṅgā. That Sunet was a flourishing and famous town with a glorious past and long history and that as a result of development and expansion of Ludhiana it has now become a suburb of Ludhiana is as irrelevant for our purpose here as most certainly it was for Vālmīki's.

Handa also shirks from a certitudinous statement on the historicity of Purūravā whom he would prefer to remember as a mythical figure, 'pure and simple'. Of course he adduces no evidence to justify the acceptance of his own belief or rejection of the arguments given by us. It is also surprising that any serious student of ancient Indian history should be unable to see that the testimony of Vedic Literature is normally superior to that of the comparatively recent Purāṇic sources. But what we find completely baffling is that Handa should find it convenient in face of all available evidence to reject the historicity of Purūravā when he does not hesitate to accept Manu Svāyambhuva in flesh and blood and even discover an imaginary location for his capital Barhiṣmatī.[46]

This brings us to Handa's doubt on the derivation of Ludhiana from Ailadhāna. As a matter of fact it is not clear to us whether Handa objects to the derivation of Ludhiana from Ailadhāna or only of Bhatinda from Vaṭadhāna. As to the former we cannot believe that there can be any objection on philological grounds. We have not derived Ludhiana from Ailadhāna as Handa says but traced the evolution of Ladhana or Lohana from Ailadhāna which is obvious enough. Regarding Ludhiana we have clearly said that the "transformation of Lodhana or Lohana to Ludhiana is a recent phenomenon, apparently facilitated by the misconceived adoption of a connection between the name and the Lodis".[47]

His derivation of Bhatinda from Bhattipind following Jaichandra Vidyalankar has nothing new about it and it is as casual as his identification of Barhiṣmatī or his discovery of Rathadhana. It can be easily shown that neither the Bhattis nor the word 'piṇḍa' has made any contribution to the name Bhatinda.[48] The name Bhattipind is unknown to literature. The form Bhatinda is only as old as the gazetteers. Early Moslem historians have spelt it in different forms like Batrinda,[49] Batrind,[50] Bithandah,[51] Bitund,[52] Pathindah,[53] Batindah[54] and Whatinda.[55] Even to-day it is usually pronounced as Baṭhiṇḍā with 'Ba' instead of 'Bha'. The use of the word 'Piṇḍa' in the sense of a village or habitation does not go back beyond the late medieval period. It may even be later than that. This sense of the word has not been noticed in lexicons like Sanskrit Woerterbuch,[56] Śabda-Kalpadruma,[57] Pā-i-a-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo,[58] Rhys-Davids and William Stede,[59] Monier Williams,[60] V.S. Apte[61] and Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā's Hindi Śabdasāgara.[62] Only a modern Panjabi dictionary Guruśabda Ratnākara-Mahānkośa of Kahan Singh Nabha[63] gives the sense 'grāma' in the sixth place among the definitions citing Pinda Ahiran as an illustration. This sense of the word is so recent that Piṇḍa as a prefix or suffix in place-names has so far undergone no change whatsoever as can be seen from innumerable instances of extant names like Uchchapind, Harsipind, Pind Dadankhan, Pind Gakhra, Pind Gondal and Pind Brahmanan. Use of the word Piṇḍi—the feminine form of Piṇḍa—as a prefix in the same sense is also available in extant place-names like Pindi Bhattian, Pindi Balochan and Pindi Loharan.[64] Here too the life-span of the usage has been too short to permit any change on account of linguistic evolution.

It is therefore not correct to derive the name-ending 'vind' in Bhikhivind from Piṇḍa. It is probably nothing but a corruption of 'vaṇḍa' meaning 'share' as in Raiwind and Sultanwind *etc.*[65] Vaṇḍa too is obviously a recent name-ending and cannot be applied to Bhatinda which is a place of great antiquity.[66] With the elimination of the word Piṇḍa as a name-ending in Bhatinda the possibility of the first part being Bhatti automatically goes. In fact the location of Bhattiaṇa or the supposed home of the Bhattis is itself a moot point. It is sometimes placed on the east[67] and sometimes on the west of the Sutlej.[68] The derivation revived by Jaichandra Vidyalankar and quoted by Handa was therefore rightly rejected long ago.[69] So was the association of Bhattis with the name of the town Bhatner[70] which was according to the native tradition originally Bharatner which is less likely to have been invented.

Bhatinda was known by more than one name in earlier days.[71] It was called Govindgarh as headquarters of the tehsil of the same name. Before that it was named Vikramgarh. In the later part of the tenth century a stone inscription of a King named Śatrughnadeva gives its name as Tribhāṇḍapura which evolved into the name Tiranda and which also might have given currency to its equation with Tabarhindah of Moslem historians by way of त्रिभाण्ड>तरबहांड>तबरहिंद. Obviously none of these names can lead us to the original of Bhatinda.

This privilege has to go to Vāṭadhāna for two reasons provided by linguistics and geography. Philologically this derivation is simply a case of metathesis of 'dha' and 'na' which gives Vāṭandhā from which the journey to Baṭhiṇḍā or Bhatiṇḍā is not at all tedious. That the evolution of Ailadhāna to Ladhana or Ludhiana and of Vāṭadhāna to Bathinda or Bhatinda should fail to proceed on identical lines is not at all unusual in the process of linguistic change. Every student of language knows the elementary fact that phonetic laws are not absolute in the sense of invariable principles at all times like scientific formulae.[72] They can better be described as tendencies. That is why we often find two similar formations getting caught in different processes of phonetic change and acquiring forms much dissimilar from each other than their originals were. So we have Mahesvara-Mahesh or Mandhata from Māhīṣmatī, Chambal from Carmaṇvatī, Munger from Mudgagiri and Kodagn (Koors) from Kolagiri and Narwar from Nalapura, Aihola from Āryapura and Siddhaur from Siddhapura.[73] It is all right for the linguist if the processes of change can be recognised in both formations as following known phonetic principles as is the case with Ailadhāna and Vāṭadhāna. The flexibility in the operation of phonetic laws also explains the phenomenon of Karadhāna. Apparently its very simplicity saved the name from corruption. For that matter even Ailadhāna does not present a case of major phonetic change. But for the chance association of the Lodis with the name it suffered only the elimination of the first vowel 'Ai' to acquire the form Ladhāna during the longest possible span of time in Indian history.

On the geographical situation of Vāṭadhana I cannot do better than quoting Pargiter.[74] The country of the Vāṭadhānas "was part of the territory stretching from Pañcanada to the Ganges, over which the hosts assembled on the Kaurava's side spread at the beginning of the great (Mahābhārata) war (*Udyoga-P.* xviii, 596-601), and it was in the western region (*Sabhā-P.* xxxi. 1190-1). From these data it may be inferred that the Vāṭadhānas inhabited the country on the east side of the Sutlej, southward from Ferozpur". How closely this location of Vāṭadhāna agrees with the region of Bhatinda[75] is not difficult to see. These important considerations easily tilt the balance of probability in favour of the Vāṭadhāna-Bhatinda equation.

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion will leave no possibility of doubt over an identification which has been accepted by Rāmāyaṇa specialists like Prof. Brockington[76] as "most convincing".

Notes and References

1. Vol. XIX, No. 1. pp 233-237.
2. See text infra.
3. *Purāṇa*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (July 1975), pp. 106-117.
4. Sheet 53 H. The village is located 28″.50′×77:00′.
5. Swami ji has set up museums at Jhajjar and Narela. He is a known indologist and has published several books on the history of Haryana, the latest being हरियाणा के प्राचीन मुद्रांक ।

5a. Just as Pathankot has no association with the Pathans. cf. Hutchinson and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1933. p. 213.

6. Ludhiana Distt. Gazetteer, Lahore, 1904. pp. 15-16.

7. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Delhi Ed. 1965, p. 210.
8. *ibid.*, p. 211.
9. Kishori Saran Lal, *Twilight of The Sultanate*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 87-88.
10. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. XIV, pt. ii, Sept. 1976, "From the Sutlej To The Gaṅgā With Vālmīki." pp. 192-206.
11. अव √ईक्ष् means to perceive, observe, take into consideration. See Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Delhi (Reprint) p. iii.
12. Cf. O.P. Bharadwaj, Vālmīki's Geography of Kurukṣetra, *Haryana Studies*, Vol. X. Nos. 1-2, 1978.
13. See text supra.
14. Ādi, 150, 6; असकृच्चापि सन्तीर्यं दूरपारं भुजप्लवैः ।...
15. See Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 489.
16. Rām. iv, 42, 8: तथा केतक खण्डाश्च मार्गध्वं हरिपुंगवाः ।
    प्रत्यक्स्रोतोवहाश्चैव नद्यः शीतजलाः शिवाः ॥
17. See Mallinātha's gloss on Śiśupālavadha (Venkateshwar Press Bombay Ed.) iv. 66 :
    उभयतस्तटौ दधद्भिः नदै अम्बुप्रवाहैः प्राक्स्रोतसो नद्यः प्रत्यक्स्रोतसो नदाः नर्मदां विनेत्याहुः ।।
18. Rām. ii. 62.18:...ययुर्मध्येन वाह्लीकान् सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।
19. See text supra.
20. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 438.
21. See text supra.
22. *ibid.*
23. ii. 62. 15.
24. ii. 62.17.
25. Edward C. Sachau, *Albiruni's India*, Delhi (Reprint), 1964, p. 316.
26. *ibid.*, p. 318.
27. *ibid.*, p. 173. Albiruni spells Draviḍa as Dirwara not Draura as stated by Handa.
28. K.S. Lal, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. ix.
29. *History of The Rise of The Mohammedan Power In India (Till The Year A.D. 1612)*, Translated from The Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Firishta, Second Reprint, Calcutta 1966, Vol I, Preface pp. xiii-xvii.
30. *ibid.*, p. ix.
31. *op. cit.*, p. 81, n. 77.
32. It is Ms. number 779, a copy transcribed from Firishta's Original Ms. on the 5th Shaban, 1218 A.H.
33. See Briggs, Vol. I. p. 299 and Vol. II. p. 123.
34. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 316.
35. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Albiruni And Sanskrit, *Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 83-100. p. 86.

36. *ibid.* p. 87 ff. We are quoting/citing Prof. Chatterji in extenso.
37. Ṛgveda, iii. 23.4.
38. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii, 5, 4, 2.
39. Home of the Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā. cf. Raghu Vira, *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Samhita*, Lahore, 1932, Intro. p. 1.
40. Vide Frank Hole and Robert F. Heizer, *Pre-Historic Archaeology—A Brief Introduction*, California University, 1973, p. 114.
41. 30°.50′×75°.45′. Vide Survey of India 1/4" sheet No. 44 N.
42. Vide text supra.
43. *ibid.*
44. *ibid.*
45. ii. 62. 13.
46. *Purāṇa*, Vol. xvii, No. 2, (July 1975), pp. 163-167. For a criticism of Handa's identification of Barhiṣmatī see O.P. Bharadwaj, *Purāṇa*. Vol. xviii, No. 1, (Jan 1976), pp. 101-2.
47. See *Purāṇa*, Vol. xvii, No. 2 (July, 1975), p. 110.
48. It is interesting to note that Alexander Cunningham (A.S.I.R. xxiii. p. 5) derives the name from 'Bhatti-da-nagara' while Colonel Todd (Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 179), vehemently rejecting any connection of the name with Bhattis, derives it from the Bard or Bhat who supposedly gave his professional title to the abode set up on land received in grant. It is needless to point out that both the derivations run counter to the undisputed antiquity of the town apart from facing philological difficulties.
49. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. viii. p. 91.
50. Ibn Batuta cited in Phulkian States Gaz. Lahore, 1909, p. 189.
51. Lubb-ut-Tawarikh-i-Hind cited in H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1973, p. 1087. n. 2.
52. Phulkian States Gaz. p. 189.
53. H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*
54. Muntakhab-ut-*Tawarikh of Al Badāoni*, Edited with Eng. Translation by George S.A. Ranking, Delhi (Reprint); 1973, Vol. I. p. 69. n. 2., p. 19. n. 2 and p. 20, n. 1.
55. Mirza Mughal Beg cited in Phulkian States Gaz. p. 190.
56. Bohtlingk And Roth, St. Petersburg, 1855.
57. Delhi (Reprint), 1961.
58. Varanasi, Second Ed., 1963.
59. Pāli English Dictionary, London, 1921.
60. *op. cit.*
61. Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 3 vols. Poona, 1957.
62. Ed. Shyam Sunder Das, Varanasi, 1969.
63. Patiala, 1960 p. 577.

64. Village-names with Piṇḍa and Piṇḍi have been taken from the Gazetteer of India and Pakistan two vols. New Delhi 1953.
65. Phulkian States Gaz. p. 189. n. 8.
66. *ibid.*, p. 188. Also Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 7.
67. See *e.g.* Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. viii, p. 91 and Gazetteer of Hissar Distt. And Loharu State, Lahore, 1915 p. 97.
68. Edward Balfour, *Encyclopaedia Asiatica*, New Delhi, 1976, Vol. viii. p. 78 and Yogendra Mishra, *The Hindu Shahis of Afghanistan And The Punjab*, Patna, 1972, p. 100.
69. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary Of The Tribes And Castes Of The Punjab And North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. I., Patiala (Reprint), 1970, p. 52. n. 3. Also see Yogendra Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 100-n. 4.
70. Hissar-Loharu Gaz. p. 97. And Yogendra Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 4.
71. See Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 2 And Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. viii, p. 89.
72. P.D. Gune, *An Introduction To Comparative Philology*, Poona, 1958. p. 64.
73. See Nando Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient And Medieval India*, 3rd ed. Delhi, 1971, Preface, passim. For more interesting examples see V.S. Agrawala's article 'कुछ मध्यकालीन अपभ्रंश नाम' in *Hindi Anusīlana. Dhirenda Verma number*, Vol. 13 (1-2), (Jan-June 1960) pp. 225-229.
74. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, English Translation with Notes. Delhi Reprint 1969. p. 312.
75. Like Vāṭadhāna Bhatinda was the name of the region also. Cf. Phulkian States Gaz. p. 190.
76. Dr. J.L. Brockington, Deptt. of Sanskrit, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, in a letter to the author.

8

From the Sutlej to the Ganga with Valmiki

Vālmīki gives direct expression to his knowledge of the geography of northern India in two passages of his *Rāmāyaṇa*. The first[1] of these relates to the journey of the messengers sent from Ayodhyā to bring back Bharata on the death of Daśaratha, while the second[2] describes the hurried homeward march of the prince. It is proposed to examine here the geographical contents of the second passage with reference to the region between the Sutlej and the Gaṅgā. The relevant passage runs as follows :

1. स प्राङ्मुखो राजगृहादभिनिर्याय वीर्यवान् ।
ततः सुदामां द्युतिमान् सन्तीर्यावेक्ष्य तां नदीम् ॥

2. ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रत्यक्स्रोतस्तरङ्गिणी ।
शतद्रूमतरच्छ्रीमान् नदीमिक्ष्वाकुनन्दनः ॥

3. ऐलधाने नदीं तीर्त्वा प्राप्य चापरपर्पटान् ।
शिलामाकुर्वन्तीं तीर्त्वा आग्नेयीं शल्यकर्षणे ॥

4. सत्यसन्धः पथिगतान् प्रेक्षमाणः शिलावहाम् ।
अत्ययात् स महाशैलान् वनं चैत्ररथं प्रति ॥

5. सरस्वतीं च गंगां च युग्मेन प्रतिपद्य च ।
उत्तरे वीरमत्स्यानां भारुण्डं प्राविशद्वनम् ॥

6. वेगिनीं च कुलिगाख्यां ह्लादिनीं पर्वतावृताम् ।
यमुनां प्राप्य सन्तीर्णो बलमाश्वासयत् तदा ॥

7. शीतीकृत्य तु गात्राणि क्लान्तानाश्वास्य वाजिनः ।
तत्र स्नात्वा च पीत्वा च प्रायादादाय चोदकम् ॥

8. राजपुत्रो महारण्यमनभीक्ष्णोपसेवितम् ।
भद्रो भद्रेण यानेन मारुतः खमिवात्ययात् ॥

9. भागीरथीं दुष्प्रतरां सोंऽशुधाने महानदीम् ।
उपायाद्राघवस्तूर्णं प्राग्वटे विश्रुते पुरे ॥

10. स गंगां प्राग्वटे तीर्त्वा समायात् कुटकोष्ठिकाम् ।
सबलस्तां स तीर्त्वाथ समगाद् धर्मवर्धनम् ॥

Although the text, as reproduced above, presents a fairly clear picture of the available variant readings[3] of some expressions, a brief examination may be made of the variants to remove the possibility of any confusion as well as any feeling of arbitrariness.

In verse 3, none of the variants बीजधान्यां, बीजवाट्यां, वीर्यधानीं and राजधान्यां looks meaningful as a place-name. All of them have to be rejected in favour of ऐलधाने, which is historically and geographically the only proper reading, being the original form of the modern name Ludhiana.[4] आग्नेयीं शल्यकर्षणे in the second line of this verse matches with the expression नदीम् ऐलधाने of the first line. The feminine form आग्नेयीम् has to be preferred to आग्नेयं for the name of a river. The readings शल्यकर्तनं and शल्यकर्षणं in place of शल्यकर्षणे are also unacceptable on account of the faulty use of accusative where the locative is obviously justified. In place of शिलावहान् in verse 4, two variants शिलावहाम् and शिलोच्चयान् are available. If शिलावहान् stands for hills, as it should, then, the reading शिलोच्चयान् would be equally suitable as its synonym. शिलावहाम् could, however, be the name only of a river[5] which does not go well with प्रेक्षमाण: because merely looking at the river does not satisfy the context. Bharata had to cross it in order to continue his journey eastward. On the other hand, he would naturally be looking at the smaller hills (प्रेक्षमाण: शिलावहान्) while crossing the higher mountains (महाशैलान्) on his way in the direction of the celebrated Caitraratha forest. शिलावहान् is, therefore, the proper reading. In the second line of this verse, वनं चैत्ररथं प्रति has a variant, वनं चैत्ररथोपमम्, which does not agree with महाशैलान् in the absence of a च and also clashes with the clear intention of the poet to say that Bharata went over the higher mountains in the direction of the Caitraratha forest, situated yet a long way ahead on the route. Lastly, in verse 6, we have कारवो as the variant of कुलिंगाख्या । Both have to qualify the river Yamunā. कुलिंगाख्या would mean 'known as Kuliṅgā' after the name Kuliṅga[6] of the region through which it flowed. कारवो may either mean 'full of water'[7] or 'flowing through Kāra', if Kāra was also another name for the same region.[8] The change would therefore be immaterial. Variants for other expressions are not important for our purpose.

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The passage may now be taken up for study from the beginning. Just as Bharata leaves Rājagṛha and turns eastward, we are faced with the five expressions *sudāmā, hrādinī, dūrapārā, pratyaksrotaḥ* and *taraṅgiṇī*. These expressions have been taken to mean differently by different scholars. In his English translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Hari Prasad Shastri[9] renders *Sudāmā, Hrādinī* and *Satalī* (read for *Taraṅgiṇī*) as names of rivers and *dūrapārā* and *pratyaksrotas* as adjectives of *Hrādinī*, and *Satalī*, respectively. According to Borooah,[10] *Hradinī, Dūrapārā* and *Tiryaksrotas* (read for *Pratyaksrotas*) stand for the rivers Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi which are supposed to possess the attributes implied in the expressions. Griffith[11] accepts *Sudāmā* and *Hrādinī* as river-names. So does Satvalekar,[12] adding *Dūrapārā* to the group.

There is, however, no justification for construing these simple adjectives as names of different rivers of the Punjab.[13] Even for the Yamunā, Vālmīki later on[14] uses four adjectives which include *hrādinī* also. It must be remembered that Vālmīki does not mention the rivers beyond the Beas even in the northward journey of the messengers. Beas too is said to have been only seen by them and not crossed.[15] Whether this was due to Vālmīki's limited knowledge of the topography of west Punjab or his belief that Rājagṛha, the capital of Kekaya, lay on the east bank of the Beas, is difficult to say. Nor is it necessary for us to enter into the controversy about the location of Kekaya[16] before accepting the normal construction of *sudāmā* ('easily fordable'), *hrādinī* ('noisy'), *dūrapārā* ('broad-channelled'), *pratyaksrotas* ('flowing westward') and *taraṅgiṇī* ('wavy, billowy'), as simple adjectives of the Sutlej which Bharata crossed at the point of Ludhiana.

From Ludhiana, Bharata reached the distant[17] mountains or Aparaparvatas, which is not the name of any tribe as mistaken by Griffith.[18] These must be the Shiwalik foothills of Panjaur. Griffith[19] takes *śilā, ākurvatī, āgneya* and *śalyakartana* as river-names while Satvalekar[20] accepts *āgneya* and *śalyakarṣaṇa* as names of villages. Actually, *Āgneyī* is the name of a river and it is qualified by the adjective *śilāmakurvatīm*, rightly explained by the commentator as *śilakarṣaṇa-svabhāvām* 'bringing along stones.'[21] Śalyakarṣaṇa is the name of the town where it was crossed Thus Bharata forded the river Āgneyī, which, in its turbulent flow, brought down boulders at the point of Śalyakarṣaṇa. Āgneyī means 'red'[22] and it has been used undoubtedly as another name for the river Aruṇā[23] which joined the Sarasvatī near Pehova, the ancient Pṛthūdaka.[24] Cunningham rightly identified it with the present river Markanda[25] flowing by the town of Shahbad, about ten miles from Ambala towards Delhi on the G.T. Road. However, a vital piece of evidence that puts the seal of certainty on this identification, escaped his notice. There is still a river called Run which flows into the Markanda near village Kaunr Majra[26] lying 30°.27′ N and 77°. 10′ E, about two miles downstream from the Haryana highway passing by Naraingarh. Markanda as a river-name is of recent origin and does not find mention in early literature. Aruṇā was probably an old name of the joint stream of Markanda and Aruṇā. Śalyakarṣaṇa has to be identified with the modern village of Salakhani situated 30°.20′ N. and 77°.10′ E on the left bank of Sadādeni,[27] hardly a mile above where it joins the Markanda. The confluence was probably further upstream in ancient times so that the village Salakhani-Śalyakarṣaṇa would be the point for crossing the combined stream. It is a village of antiquity and lies on the way from Shahzadpur to Bilaspur, also not far from the Ambala-Jagadhri road, which very well agrees with the route followed by Bharata.

As already seen, verse 4 describes Bharata passing over the higher mountain ranges overlooking the smaller hills while proceeding towards the Caitraratha forest which will be identified later. The prince next fords the Sarasvatī and the Gaṅgā together, at their confluence, and enters the Bhāruṇḍa forest in the north of Vīramatsyas (verse 5). This Sarasvatī is, of course, the present Sarsuti flowing by the town of Kurukṣetra-Thanesar as an insignificant rainy-season nullah. It rises in the upper Shiwaliks and dries up in the desert near Bhatner, joining on the way with the Markanda and the Ghaggar.[28] Although described as a mighty river in Vedic literature it is later on said to have vanished and emerged at several places probably due to its reduced waterflow.[29] Gaṅgā appears to be some small tributary of Sarasvatī. The *Mahābhārata*[30] also mentions a Gaṅgā-Sarasvatī-saṅgama and names a tīrtha Gaṅgā-hrada[31] or the 'tank of Gaṅgā' in Kurukṣetra. The *Vāmanapurāṇā*[32] counts one Gaṅgā among the rivers of Kurukṣetra and also mentions it with the sacred places named Kṛtajapya and Koṭitīrtha.[33] While the existence of a river named Gaṅgā in the Kurukṣetra region cannot, therefore, be denied, it is difficult to identify it. It was most probably a stream that joined the Sarasvatī in its upper reaches, since the confluence fell on Bharata's route. According to the maps[34] the river Chautang[35] meeting the Sarasvatī about one and a half miles above the village Balchhapar would appear to answer to the situation.

Vīramatsya in plural obviously refers to a tribe and probably also to the seat of its power and the region occupied by it. 'Vīra' as a part of the name sounds rather singular. Matsyas were well known since the earliest times but nowhere is the name found coupled with 'Vīra'. Nor does the *Rāmāyaṇa* allude to any particular qualities of the Matsyas to justify the adjective. Is it then possible that 'Vīra' is a scribal error for 'Kīra' ? It would certainly make things easier if it were, because the name Kirmach of a big village of antiquity, located on the Sirsa branch of the western Jumna Canal, not very far from Nilokheri in district Karnal, may well be derived from it.

The Matsya country is usually placed in the Alwar-Jaipur-Bharatpur region and its capital city Virāṭa is identified with the present town of Bairat in the

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former Jaipur State.[36] There had, however, been large-scale migrations from the Punjab in very early times[37] and the possibility of the Matsyas moving to their later habitat from a more northern home cannot be ruled out. As a matter of fact, the evidence from Vedic literature does appear to lend plausibility to such a suggestion. The earliest reference to the Matsyas occurs in the *Ṛgveda*[38] which describes them as ranged with the antagonists of the great conquerer Sudās, king of the Tṛitsu-Bharatas, who fought on the Beas and the Sutlej and won the Dāśarāja war against a confederacy of ten kings.[39] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[40] mentions their king Dhvasā Dvaitavana performing an Aśvamedha at lake Dvaitavana on the Sarasvatī.[41] The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*[42] couples them with the Śālvas who were occupying the country adjoining the Yugandharas on their north-east on both sides of the Yamunā.[43] This association with the Śālvas finds an echo even in the *Mahābhārata*.[44] Evidently, the two tribes were not living far apart from each other at some time in their early history. A tribe named Apara-matsyas finds mention in the *Mahābhārata* which clearly refers to another offshoot of the main branch. They have been located by Pargiter in the hilly region on the north bank of the Chambal.[45] The Matsyas in the neighbourhood of the Śālvas, to their south, were, then, apparently the third branch of the main tribe. If we accept the reading Vīra-matsyas the matter ends here. The suggested alternative reading of Kīra-matsya, however, calls for an explanation.

Kīra is the name of a people associated with more than one locality. The town of Baijnath, about 30 miles east of Kot Kangra 32°3′N and 76°41′E in Himachal Pradesh, has been named as Kīragrāma in inscriptions.[46] The *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*[47] and *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[48] mention them with the land and people of Kashmir.[49] So does the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa.[50] The Chamba copperplate grant of Āṣata published by Kielhorn names them between the Durgaras-Dogras and the Trigartas, while describing a victory of Sāhilladeva over them.[51] One Kīra is noticed in the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśovarman of the year 1011[52] under the Sāhi kings and it has been suggested to locate it in south Afghanistan to the north of the Kirthar range.[53] Of special significance, however, is the Nagpur Stone inscription of V.S. 1161 which states that the Kīra chief was eloquent beyond measure on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī.[54] None of the three localities named above can claim proximity to the Sarasvatī. D.R. Bhandarkar[55] overstretches the point in applying the description to Baijnath which is separated from the Sarasvatī by the two major rivers Sutlej and Beas apart from Ghaggar and Markanda. It could be meaningful only if it applied to a branch of the Kīras existing somewhere in the Kurukṣetra region near the Sarasvatī. In this context, the possibility of an alliance, matrimonial or otherwise, between the Kīras and the Matsyas resulting in a united clan is really very tempting. It gives us the compound Kīra-matsya on the analogy of the formations like Kuru-pañcāla, Cedi-matsya, Śālva-matsya and Aṅga-magadha, and provides a very natural evolution to the name Kirmach as already noted. It also obviates the necessity of accepting an unusual name of a people—a name the first half of which would be an adjective finding no other mention or explanation or even a similar parallel in the name of any other tribe.

The forest of Bhāruṇḍa, which Bharata enters after crossing the joint stream of the Sarasvatī and the Gaṅgā, lies to the north of the Vīra-(Kīra-) matsyas. The name Bhāruṇḍa still survives in the modern name of Paonta which fully agrees with the geographical situation described. On the route of Bharata, Paonṭa, to the north of Kirmach, would be an ideal point for crossing the Jumna. It lies 77°41′N and 30° 45′E at an elevation of 397.7 metres from sea level, about 45 km. from Nahan on the Simla-Nahan-Paonta-Dehra Dun road, almost equidistant from the towns of Dehra Dun, Jagadhri and Nahan. Situated on the right bank of the river which takes a southward turn here, it commands a superb view of the Dun Valley[56] and was once sanctified by the stay of Guru Gobind Singh.[57]

The description (verse 6) of 'fast-flowing' (*veginī*), 'noisy' (*hrādinī*), and 'surrounded by hills' (*parvatāvṛtā*) fits the Jumna at this point very well. The crossing followed a long march and was quite fatiguing. After accomplishing it, Bharata gave his forces a rest. They enjoyed a refreshing bath in the cool waters, drank to their fill, took a supply for the journey and moved again after resting their tired horses (verse 7). The use of the name Kuliṅgā for the Jumna has already been explained.

Verse 8 describes the advance of the prince through a very thick forest rarely frequented by human beings (*anabhikṣṇopasevitam*). Bharata made it fast on a large Bhadra elephant.[58] This is the forest to which verse 4 refers by the name of Caitraratha. It was a celebrated landmark on the way and the manner of its introduction in the narrative successfully brings out its importance. It is familiar to Sanskrit literature as a forest *par excellence*, lavishly endowed with all kinds of botanical wealth and frequently figures in similes as an object of comparison for other gardens.[59] The Purāṇas[60] count it among the four divine forests surrounding the mountain Meru. According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[61] it was situated near Alakā, the capital of Kubera. The modern town of Alakāpuri is situated about 8 miles north of Badrinath.[62] The forest came to be called Caitraratha from its being cultivated by Citraratha, a Gandharva of Kubera,[63] who is called by the name of Aṅgāraparṇa also and described in the *Mahābhārata* as fighting with Arjuna on the Ganges.[64] The *Amarakośa*[65] defines it as the garden of Kubera. Vālmīki[66] himself describes it as the divine forest of Kubera and locates it in the Kuru country. In the *Raghuvaṁśa*[67] the region about the forest is also called Caitraratha after it. It would thus appear that it was a region in the north of the Kurus between the Jumna and the Gaṅgā, abounding in elephants. The description presents a striking identification in location as well as name with the modern Chakrata. It comprises the northern tehsil of Dehra Dun district of Uttar Pradesh lying between 30° 31′ and 31° 2′N and 77° 42′ and 78° 5′E, with its headquarters at the town of the same name lying 30° 42′N and 77° 52′E and is also known as Jaunsar Bawar. The Jaunsar Bawar Forest Division covered an extensive area of 142 sq. miles and was managed jointly with 153 sq. miles of forests leased from the neighbouring states till some time back.[68] The region was known for its elephants.[69]

Speeding through the great forest, the prince arrived at the Gaṅgā and first explored the possibility of a crossing at the point of Aṁśudhāna but finding the river unfordable there, he crossed it near the renowned city of Prāgvaṭa (verse 9-10). I have not been able to find any clue to the identification of these two place-names. It has been suggested that Prāgvaṭa might be somewhere opposite to the village Balawali across the Gaṅgā in district Bijnaur of U.P.[70] It is however only a conjecture unsupported by any evidence. My own view is that these towns were probably located somewhere about Rishikesh, possibly further upstream, since Bharata reached there after his march through the region of Chakrata.

To sum up, the foregoing discussion results in five identifications—(1) of river Āgneyī with Aruṇā or Markanda, (2-3) of the towns Śalyakarṣaṇa and Kīramatsya with Salakhni and Kirmach, respectively, and (4-5) of the forests Bhāruṇḍa and Caitraratha with Paonta and Chakrata, respectively. Geographically the soundness of these identifications is self-evident. Their situation fits in most appropriately with the route taken by Bharata. It was the traditional trunk-route from east to north-west which adhered to the Himalayan foothills for easy fording of the rivers before they gained in volume and developed extensive flood-plains.[71]

From the historical angle, too, the names Run, Salakhni, Kirmach, Paonta and Chakrata satisfy the test of antiquity. In the matter of identifications, however, the linguistic factor is also of equal importance. Happily, the equations involved in these names easily satisfy the philological considerations, too. They are given below along with parallel illustrations of involved changes taken from A.C. Woolner[72] and Nando Lal Dey :[73]

1. Āgneyī=A-ru-ṇā>Ru-ṇā>Rūṇ
    [*Parallel* : a-ra-ṇya>raṇ]
2. Śa-lya-karṣa-ṇa>Sa-la-kṣa-ṇa>Sa-la-kkha-ṇi
    [*Par.* : śa>Sa=-Śi-prā>Si-prā
    Kṣa>kha : Da-kṣi-ṇa>Da-kkhi-na
    r>o : pra-stha>pa-t.
    ya>o : A-yo-dhyā>Au-dha].

3. Kī-ra-ma-tsya>Ki-ra-ma-chha>Ki-ra-mach.

   [*Par.* : tsya>chha : Matsya-de-śa>Ma-chha-de-sa]

4. Bhā-ru-ṇḍa>Bha-uṇ ḍā>Pa-on-ṭā

   [*Par.* : bha>pa : bhrā-tṛ>bhā-ī>pā-ī
   da>ta : Ku-ṇḍa-grā-ma>Ko-ṭi-grā-ma]

5. Cai-tra-ra-tha>Cai-ta-rā-ta>Ca-ka-rā-tā.

   [*Par.* : tra>ta : kṣe-tra>kheta.
   ta>ka : Sta-mbha-tī-rtha>Ka-mbay.
   tha>ta : Mū-la-ethā-na>Mul-tān
   pra-stha>pat],

In all these cases the transition of the ancient names to their modern forms is so manifestly smooth and natural that any attempt to squeeze it in the moulds of philological principles—which in any case are only tendencies—would be superfluous. All the same, the exercise undertaken above clearly shows how easily these identifications pass the linguistic test, while fully satisfying the other factors which are material for identification of ancient names.

Notes and References

1. *Vālmīkī Rāmāyaṇa*, Critical Edition, vol. II, ed. P.L. Vaidya, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1962, (henceforth referred to as Cr. ed.), *Ayodhyā*, 62.10ff.
2. Cr. ed., *Ayodhyā*, 65.1ff.
3. Cr. ed., pp. 387-89.
4. For the identification of 'Ailadhāna' with Ludhiana, see O.P. Bharadwaj, 'The identification of Ludhiana on the basis of the epics and the Purāṇas', *Purāṇa*, 17 (1975) 106-17.
5. Borooah translates it as 'the rocky river' and identifies it with the Dṛṣadvatī. *Cf.* Anundoram Borooah, *Ancient Geography of India*, Gauhati, Reprint, 1971, p. 23.
6. Kuliṅga is probably the same as Kuṇinda, Kulinda or Pulinda (*Mahābhārata*, B.O.R.I, Poona, Cr. ed., *Bhīṣma*, 10.39 and 61). V.S. Agrawala equates Pāṇini's Kuluna (*Gaṇapāṭha* 4.2. 133 and 4.3.93) with Kulinda and later Kuṇinda. *Vide*, *India as known to Pāṇinī*, Second ed., Varanasi, 1963, p. 55. Coins of the Kulindas were found in the tract between Ambala and Saharanpur. Kulinda (*Gk.* Kulindrine) was known to Ptolemy as the hilly region in which the Beas, Sutlej and Yamuna rise. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* places them in the NE division with the Kashmirians, Kulūtas and Sairindhas.

According to Cunningham, they had their capital at Srughna on the west bank of the old Jumna. See Allan's *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India*, British Museum, 1967, p. ciii, and A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Reprint, Varanasi, 1963, p. 71.

7. Kāra is one of the four kinds of water, *vide*, *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, (Ed. with com. *Sudhā*, Sudama Ram Sharma, Banaras, 1940, p. 232), 1.45.7 :

   तत्रान्तरिक्षं (सलिलं) चतुर्विधम् । तद्यथा—धारं कारं तौषारं हैममिति ।

   The commentator explains : कारं वर्षोपलोद्भवम् । 'करो वर्षोपले' इति मेदिनी ।

   It is difficult to defend the formation Kāravī grammatically. Unless it is taken as a *rūḍha* word, the reading cannot be supported.

8. The place-names like कारपचव and कारपवन point in this direction. Vide *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, (Ed., A. Weber, Reprint, Varanasi, 1972) 24.6.10, अवभृथमवलभ्यवयन्ति यमुनां कारपचवं प्रति ।

   The commentator explains : कारपचवो देशभेद: । तन्मध्ये यमुना वर्तते, तां कारपचवदेशस्थां यमुनां प्राप्य तत्रावभृथमभ्यवयन्ति ।

   Also *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, 25.10.23, *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*, 12.6. And also *Mbh.*, Gita Press ed., *Śalya*, 54.12.15.

   संप्राप्त: कारपवनं प्रवरं तीर्थमुत्तमम् ।
   हलायुधस्तत्र चापि दत्वा दानं महाबल: ।।
   ...इन्द्रोऽग्निरर्यमा चैव यत्र प्राक् प्रीतिमाप्नुवन् ।
   तं देशम् कारपवनाद् यमुनायां जगाम ह ।।

9. Hari Prasad Shastri, *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*, (English translation), London, 1952, p. 314.
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 23.
11. T.H. Griffith, *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*, translated into English verse, Third edition, Varanasi, 1963, p. 178.
12. Shripad Damodar Satvalekar, *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa Mahākāvya*, vol. III, *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, First ed., Aundh, 1946, pp. 70-71.
13. For more on this point, see O.P. Bharadwaj, *op. cit.*
14. Verse 6 above.
15. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Venkateshwara Press edn., Bombay, *Ayodhyā*, 48.19 :

    विष्णो: पदं प्रेक्षमाणा: विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् ।
    नदीर्वापीतटाकानि पल्वलानि सरांसि च ।।

16. Nando Lal Dey, (*The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Third ed., Delhi, 1971, p. 98), places them between Beas and Sutlej. S.B. Chaudhuri, (*Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Part I, Calcutta, 1955, p. 89 n. 10), appears to be in doubt. Borooah, (*op. cit.*, p. 23), D. C. Sircar,

(*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Second ed., Delhi, 1971, p. 34) and B.C. Law, (*Tribes in Ancient India*. Second ed., Poona, 1973, pp. 77-78), follow Cunningham (*Archaeological Survey of India Report* (*ASIR*) II, p. 14ff), in placing them beyond the Jhelum.

17. Or 'lower', *vide*, Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 50.
18. *Op. cit.*, p. 178.
19. *Ibid.*,
20. *Op. cit.*
21. *Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*, *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, ed., S.K. Mudholkar Gujarati Press, Bombay, p. 811.
22. Monier-Williams, p. 130, gives 'blood' as one of the meanings of *āgneya*, so that *āgneyī* will mean blood-red, *aruṇā* too means red (p. 88).
23. *Mahābharata* (*MBh.*), *Śalya*, 42-43, gives the story of Viśvāmitra's curse on the Sarasvatī as a result of which the river carried bloody water for one year. It was purified by the prayers and penances of the troubled sages. This created a problem for the rākṣasas who had been enjoying its bloody waters for an year and, on their request, supported by the ṛṣis, the Sarasvatī brought river Aruṇā which was 'its own form' and the rākṣasas ascended to heaven by taking bath in it.
24. *ASIR* vol. XIV, p. 102. The confluence is considered very sacred. *Cf. Mbh.*, *Vana*, 83.151 :

    ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र तीर्थं मेध्यं यथाक्रमम् ।
    सरस्वत्यरुणायाश्च संगमं लोकविश्रुतम् ।।

25. *ASIR*, vol. XIV, p. 102.
26. See *Survey of India One-inch sheet*, 53 F/3, Fourth edition.
27. Identified with Śaradaṇḍā, *vide* M.L. Bhargava, *The geography of Ṛgvedic India*, Lucknow, 1964, p. 100.
28. *Vedic Index*, vol. II, pp. 434-37, Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49, and B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954, pp. 30-31.
29. At times the flow dried up completely and could be made out only from invisible links. *Cf. Mbh.*, *Śalya*, 3.5.84 :

    स्निग्धत्वादोषधीनां च भूमेश्च जनमेजय ।
    जानन्ति सिद्धा राजेन्द्र नष्टामेपि सरस्वतीम् ।।

30. See, *Vana*, 84.38 : गङ्गायाश्च नरश्रेष्ठ सरस्वत्य श्च संगमे ।।
31. See, *Vana*, 88.176,201 :

    गंगाह्लदश्च तत्रैव कूपश्च भरतर्षभ ।
    तिस्रः कोट्यस्तु तीर्थानां तस्मिन् कूपे महीपते ।।
    गंगाह्लदश्च तत्रैव तीर्थं भरतसत्तम ।
    तत्र स्नायीत धर्मज्ञ ब्रह्मचारी समाहितः ।।

and *Anuśāsana*, 25.34.

गंगाह्रद उपस्पृश्य तदा चैवोत्पलावने ।
अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति तत्र मासं कृतोदक:।।

32. *Cr. ed.* by A.S. Gupta, Varanasi, 1967, *Saromāhātmya*,
13.6: वनान्येतानि वै सप्त नदी: श्रृणुत मे द्विजा: ।।
13.7: आपगा च महापुण्या गंगा मन्दाकिनी नदी ।...
33. *Ibid.*, 15.62 : कृतजप्यं ततो गच्छेत्-त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् ।
तत्राभिषेकं कुर्वीत गंगायां प्रयत: स्थित: ।।
34. *Survey of India, One-inch sheet*, 53 F/3, Fourth edition.
35. The Chautang identified with the Dṛṣadvati., (vide *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, ed. E.J. Rapson, III Reprint, Delhi 1968, p. 72) is a different nala further east of the Sarasvatī.
36. Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9, Law, *Tribes*, pp. 357ff and **H.C.** Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, Seventh ed., Calcutta, 1972, pp. 61f.
37. To take only one instance, the *Mahābhārata* speaks of wholesale migration of north Indian tribes out of fear of Jarāsandha : *Vide*, *Sabhā*, 14.25-28 :

उदीच्याश्च तथा भोजा कुलान्यष्टादश प्रभो ।
जरासन्धभयादेव प्रतीचीं दिशमास्थिता: ।।
शूरसेना भद्रकारा बोधा: शाल्वा: पटच्चरा: ।
सुस्थलाश्च सुकुट्टाश्च कुलिन्दा: कुन्तिभि: सह ।।
शाल्वायनाश्च राजान: सोंदर्यानुचरै: सह ।
दक्षिणा ये च पञ्चाला: पूर्वा कुन्तिषु कोशला: ।।
तथोत्तरां दिशं चापि परित्यज्य भयार्दिता: ।
'मत्स्या:' सन्यस्तपादाश्च दक्षिणां दिशमाश्रिता: ।।

The specific mention of Matsyas is noteworthy. For migrations of tribes from north, see D.R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign elements in the Hindu population', *Indian Antiquary*, 40 (1911) 7-37.

38. *ṚV*. 7.18.6 :

पुरोला इत् तुर्वशो यक्षुरासीद् । राये मत्स्यासो निशिता अपीव ।
श्रुष्टिं चक्रुर्भृगवो द्रुह्यवश्च सखा सखायमतरद् विषूचो: ।।

39. See, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 454.
40. *Śat. Br.*, 13.5.49 : एषोऽनुष्टुप्सम्पन्नस्तेन हैतेन ध्वसा द्वैतवनऽईजे मात्स्यो राजा यत्रैतद् द्वैतवनं सरस्तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतम् चतुर्दश द्वैतवनो राजा संग्रामजिद् हयान् ।। इन्द्राय वृत्रघ्नेऽबध्नात् तस्माद् द्वैतवनं सर ऽ इति ।।

41. *Mbh.*, *Vana*, 25.1 :

    तत्काननं प्राप्य नरेन्द्रपुत्राः सुखोचिता वासमुपेत्य कृच्छ्रम् ।
    विजह्रुरिन्द्रप्रतिमाः शिवेषु सरस्वतीशालवनेष तेषु ।।

42. *Das Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, (Ed. D. Gaastra, Leiden, 1910, p. 43), 1.2.10 : विचारी ह वै काबन्धिः...तं मातोवाच त एवैतदन्नमवोचंस्त इम एषु कुरुपञ्चालेष्वङ्गमगधेषु काशिकोशलेषु शाल्वमत्स्येषु...

43. *Gāthā* 2.11.12 of the *Āpastambīya Mantrapāṭha* describes the Śālva people of extensive dominions living on the banks of the king of Yamunā proclaiming Yaugandhari or the king of Yungandhara—modern Jagadhri—as their own ruler :

    यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजा इति साल्वीरवादिषुः ।
    विवृत्तचक्राः आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव ।।

    For a detailed discussion on the original home of the Śālvas, see O.P. Bharadwaj, 'The Shiwaliks or the Śālvakāgiri and the Śālvāvayavas' to be published in the *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Kurukshetra 1975.

44. See, *Udyoga*, 160.103 :

    प्राच्यैः प्रतीच्यैरथ दाक्षिणात्यैरुदीच्यकाम्बोजशकैः खशैश्च ।
    शाल्वैः समत्स्यैः कुरुमध्यदेश्यैर्म्लेच्छैः पुलिन्दैर्द्रविडान्ध्रकाञ्च्यैः ।।

45. *Puranic History of Ancient India*, p. 61.
46. R.C. Majumdar, 'The Kingdom of Kīra', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 9 (1933) 11-17.
47. Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, ed., Śaṁ. 1972, 2.1.8 :

    प्रांग्ज्योतिषं कामरूपे तीरभुक्तिस्तु निच्छविः ।
    विदेहाश्चाऽथ काश्मीरे कीराः स्युः शास्त्रशिल्पिनः ।।

48. Ed. Subrahmanya Sastri and Ramakrishna Bhatt, Bangalore, 1947, vol. I, 32.19 :

    काशियुगन्धरं पौखं किरातकीराभिसारहलभद्राः ।
    अर्बुदसुराष्ट्रमालवपीडाकरमिष्टवृष्टिकरम् ।।

49. B.N. Puri, 'Geographical information from Rājaśekhara's works', *Journal of Indian History*, 40 (1962) 405-11.
50. Ed. M.A. Stein, vol. I, Reprint, Delhi, 1960, VIII. 2767 :

    जयचन्द्रादयो राजवदनप्रहिता अपि ।
    कीरा काश्मीरिकाः पार्श्वंभजन् राजबीजिनः ।।

51. *Indian Antiquary*, 17 (1888) 7-13 lines 3-4 :

सौमतिक-कृतसानाथ्य-दुर्गरेश्वर समीर संधुक्षित कीरबल बलवद् देवाशुशुक्षणि-क्षणक्षपण (नव) जलधरस्य···

52. Ed. Keilhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, pp. 122-35, lines 24-25, verse 43 :

    ...कैलाशाद् भोटनाथः सुहृदिति च ततः कीरराजः प्रपेदे ।
    साहिस्तस्मादवाप द्विपतुरगबलेनानु हेरम्बपालः ॥···

53. B.N. Puri, *op. cit.*, However, *cf.* R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, for a different view.
54. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit*.
55. *Op. cit*.
56. *See Sirmur Gazetteer*, Simla, 1969, p. 363.
57. S.S. Shashi, *Himachal—Nature's Peaceful Paradise*, Delhi, 1971, p. 240.
58. *Cf.*, *Bhūṣaṇa* commentary, Gujarati Press Ed., p. 812 : भद्रेण भद्रगजरूपेण यानेन ।
59. See, *e.g.*, Venkateshwar Press edn. of *Rām.*, *Yuddha.*, 127.28 :

    आससाद द्रुमान् फुल्लान् नन्दिग्रामसमीपगान् ।
    सुराधिपस्योपवने यथा चैत्ररथे द्रुमान् ॥

    and *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa 6.50...वृन्दावने चैत्ररथादनूने···

60. *Skandapurāṇa*, ed. Mansukhrai Mor, Calcutta, 1965, *Maheśvara Khaṇḍa*, (*Kumārikā Khaṇḍa*, ii), 37.37 :

    पूर्वं चैत्ररथं नाम दक्षिणे गन्धमादनम् ।
    वैभ्राजं पश्चिमे ज्ञेयं उदक् चित्ररथं वनम् ।।

    Also *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Gita Press Edn., 2.2.24 :

    वनं चैत्ररथं पूर्वे दक्षिणे गन्धमादनम् ।
    वैभ्राजं पश्चिमे तद्वदुत्तरे नन्दनं स्मृतम् ॥

61. 4.6.48 तया सह स चावनिपतिरलकायां चैत्ररथादिवनेषु अमलपद्मखण्डेषु मानसादिसरस्वतीरमणीयेषु रममाणः षष्टिवर्षसहस्राण्यनुदिनप्रवर्द्धमानप्रमोदोऽनयत् ॥
62. Swami Pranavendra Sarasvati, *Badrinath—The land of wisdom*, Badrinath, 1955, p. 20.
63. J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*, Sixth edn.. London, p. 65.
64. *Ādi*, 169.3, 38, 40 :

    ते त्वगच्छन्नहोरात्रात्तीर्थं सोमाश्रयायणम् ।
    आसेदुः पुरुषव्याघ्राः गंगायां पाण्डुनन्दनाः ॥ 3 ॥
    जितोऽहं पूर्वकं नाम मुञ्चाम्यङ्गारपर्णताम् । 38 ॥
    अस्त्राग्निना विचित्रोऽयं दग्धो मे रथ उत्तमः ।
    सोऽहं चित्ररथो भूत्वा नाम्ना दग्धरथोऽभवम् ॥ 40 ॥

65. 1.68-70...अस्योद्यानं चैत्ररथम्···॥ 70 ॥
66. *Rām.*, *Ayodhyā*, 91.19 :

    वनं कुरुषु यद्दिव्यं वासो भूषणपत्रवत् । दिव्यनारीफलं शश्वत्तत्कौबेरमिहैव तु ॥

67. 6.60...एको ययौ चैत्ररथप्रदेशान् सौराज्यरम्यानपरो विदर्भान् ।
68. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 10, Oxford, 1908, Reprint, Delhi, p. 125.
69. Edward Balfour, *The Cyclopaedia of India and of Eastern and South-Eastern Asia*, vol. III, Third edn., Austria, 1968, p. 670.
70. Vijayendra Kumar Mathur, *Aitihāsika Sthānāvalī*, Delhi, 1969, p. 591.
71. *Cf.*, R.K. Mookerji, *Hindu civilisation*, vol. II, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, p. 314; T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Calcutta, Reprint, 1950, p. 64; L.M. Ali, *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, Delhi, 1966, p. 176.
72. *Introduction to Prakrit*, Lahore, 1939.
73. *Op. cit.*

9

Ganga to Ghaggar with Valmiki

Vālmīki displays his knowledge of the geography of the Kurukṣetra region in two passages of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[1] One of these we have examined elsewhere.[2] It is proposed to take up here the other passage which describes the journey of the messengers from Ayodhyā to Kekaya to fetch Bharata posthaste on the sudden demise of Daśaratha as a result of the shock on Rāma's exile. The account contains names of places and rivers which are of great interest from the point of view of the historical geography of the times. The identification of names relating to Kurukṣetra covering the distance from the Gaṅgā to Ghaggar is attempted in the following pages.

The relevant portion of the text (II. 62.10ff.) as reconstructed from the different readings made available in the Critical Edition is given below :

ते हस्तिनपुरे गंगां तीर्त्वा प्रत्यङ्मुखा ययुः: ।
पाञ्चालदेशमासाद्य मध्येन कुरुजांगलम् ।। 10

पूर्वेण वारुणीं तीर्त्वा कुरुक्षेत्रे सरस्वतीम् ।
त्वरमाणाः ययुर्दूताः सुरम्यां पुष्करावतीम् ।। 10A

सरांसि च सुफुल्लानि नदीश्च विमलोदकाः ।
निरीक्षमाणाः जग्मुस्ते दूताः कार्यवशाद् द्रुतम् ।। 10B

ते प्रसन्नोदकां दिव्यां नानाविहगसेविताम् ।
उपातिजग्मुर्वेगेन शरदण्डां जलाकुलाम् ।। 11

निकूलवृक्षमासाद्य दिव्यं सत्योपयाचनम् ।
अभिगम्याभिवाद्यं तं भूलिंगां प्रविशन् पुरीम् ।। 12

अजकूलां ततः प्राप्य बोधीनां नगरं ययुः ।

पितृपैतामहीं पुण्यां तेरुरिक्षुमतीं नदीम् ।। 12A
अवेक्ष्याञ्जलिपानांश्च ब्राह्मणान् वेदपारगान् ।
ययुर्मध्येन वाह्लीकान् सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।।
विष्णोः पदं प्रेक्षमाणाः विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् ।। 12B

A short discussion on the discarded variant readings is necessary here[3]. In verse 11 we have preferred the reading शरदण्डाम् to शतद्रुं च because the context calls for a river of Kurukṣetra and, as we shall see, there is no place for शतद्रु on this side of river इक्षुमती which follows in verse 12A. In verse 12 भूलिगाम् is to be retained as against कुलिगाम्; the word refers to a town, पुरी, whereas कुलिगा has been used by Vālmīki elsewhere, at *Ayodhyā*, 65.6, as a name of river Yamunā. In verse 12A अभिकालं has been discarded for अजकूलाम् which has a better claim to a place-name. बोधीनां नगरं ययुः is more meaningful than तेजोभिभवनाच्च्युताः which makes little sense. तेजोभिभवन would make a very awkward name for a town as it has been rendered by the scholiasts.[4] Nor does the third reading (ते) बोधिभवनाच्च्युताः appear suitable with its explanation as a mountain name by another commentator.[5] On the other hand, बोधीनां नगरं ययुः is a clear statement agreeing with the context as well as the construction. We have accepted पितृपैतामहीम् in place of देवर्षिचरिताम्, although, as will be seen later, both are equally suitable as adjectives of the river इक्षुमती, for which, too, we have a variant reading in the name इन्दुमती, not a bad substitute again.

An alternate reading in place of the second line of the last verse 12B is : ययुर्मध्येतिवेगेन शतरुद्रां जलाकुलाम. This reading is grammatically faulty in more than one way and seems to have been added by a mediocre scribe. We have therefore preferred the reading : ययुर्मध्येन वाह्लीकान् सुदामानं च पर्वतम्. Some scholars like to read, वाहीकान् in place of वाह्लीकान्, on the plea that the latter denotes the region of modern Balkh on the Oxus in the northern part of Afghanistan, while the former name was used in ancient times for the Punjab or Pañcanada, 'the land of the Five Rivers'.[6] The dispute is however only about the name and not about the region to which the text clearly refers. We can, therefore, afford to ignore it.

The journey might be taken up now. The messengers cross the Gaṅgā at Hastināpura, the celebrated capital of the Kurus, which is traditionally identified with an old town of this name in Mawana tehsil, 22 miles N.E. of the district town of Meerut.[7] Evidently, during Vālmīki's time the Gaṅgā was flowing close to the town. The founding of Hastināpura is attributed to king Hastin, son of Suhotra.[8] The common synonyms of the city like Gajapura, Gajasāhvaya,

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Nāgapura, Nāgasāhvaya, Vāraṇāhvaya and Hastigrāma have, however, prompted the suggestion that the city was not named after any king but simply means 'the city of elephants' which the Kuru kings possessed in large numbers.[9] The city was destroyed by a fierce flood in the Gaṅgā during the reign of king Nicakṣu, son of Adhisīma Kṛṣṇa, who then shifted his capital to Kausāmbī.[10]

From Hastināpura the party moves westward and, after covering Pañcāla, proceeds through Kurujāṅgala. Pañcāla was a large country extending on both sides of the Gaṅgā which divided it into two kingdoms, North Pañcāla with its capital at Ahichhatrā equated with Ramnagar in Rohilkhand, 18 miles west of Bareilly and 7 miles north of Aonla,[11] and South Pañcāla with its capital at Kāmpilya, the modern Kampil on the old Gaṅgā between Budaon and Farrukhabad.[12] The territories of the Pañcālas and Kurus were not only contiguous but also, often, overlapping. In the later Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣadic literature, the two names are often combined into one as Kurupañcālas.[13] At times, Uttarapañcāla was known as a part of the Kuru territory. The Jātakas mention it as a city in the Kuru kingdom.[14] According to the *Mahābhārata* (*Ādi.*, ch. 140), Arjuna defeated the Pañcāla king Drupada and wrested the northern part of his kingdom for his teacher Droṇācārya. Before entering Kurujāṅgala the messengers apparently passed through north Pañcāla which must have extended on both sides of the Ganges.

V.S. Agrawala[15] equates Kurujāṅgala with the Rohtak-Hansi-Hissar region of Haryana, probably misled by the word *jāṅgala* which is erroneously taken to mean 'forest country' or 'wasteland' even by those who place it in the north-eastern part of the Kurus.[16] Occasionally, this name was applied to the entire Kurudeśa.[17] According to B.C. Law and Pargiter, it stretched upto the Kāmyakavana and, as already noted, even the Uttarapañcāla kingdom was sometimes included in it. The Kāmyakavana was just south of the Dvaitavana[18] and both were on the Sarasvatī.[19] Dvaitavana adjoined the Caitraratha forest of Kubera which might be identified with modern Chakrata or Jaunsar Bawar Forest Division, comprising the northern tehsil of district Dehra Dun of U.P.[20] Kāmyakavana would, thus, be the region around Kapālamochana and Bilaspur in district Ambala, immediately to the north-east of Kurukṣetra, extending upward into the Nahan hills. In the *Mahābhārata*, (*Ādi.*, chs. 118-25), Kuntī reaches Hastināpura in Kurujāṅgala from the Caitraratha-Gandhamādana-Śataṣṛṅga side after the death of Pāṇḍu during his *vānaprastha*. Kurujāṅgala was, therefore, undoubtedly, the north-eastern strip of the Kuru country. And, *jāṅgala* here does not denote 'wasteland' but a particular kind of soil occurring in a picturesque and prosperous land of wind and sunshine, free from excessive water or floods and wild reeds, and abounding in delicious fruits and food-grains.[21] Manu recommends residence in the *jāṅgala* country[22] which agrees with the region in question.

The next verse describes the party crossing river Vāruṇī in the east and the Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra and, then, hastening to a beautiful town called Puṣkarāvatī. Borooah[23] identifies Vāruṇī with western Kali Nadi between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. According to the Survey of India maps,[24] Kali Nadi is a tributary of the Yamunā through the Hindan which it joins below Budhana. It might have been one of the main branches of the Yamunā in the past and the name Kali Nadi may well be the corrupt form of Kālindī, which is another name of the Yamunā in later literature.[25] Vālmīki, however, mentions it independent of Yamunā and other rivers.[26] On closer scrutiny, however, it appears unnecessary to import Kali Nadi or Kālindī in the identification of Vāruṇī which is nothing but a synonym of Sūryatanayā, meaning 'the daughter of the Sun', a well-known appellation of the Yamunā,[27] since Varuṇa is but another name of an Āditya or Sun in the Veda, commonly associated with Mitra.[28] Vāruṇī in the east of Kurukṣetra matches exactly with the situation of the Yamunā.

The above interpretation finds support from Vālmīki's preference for derivative forms of names as is demonstrated by his use of Āgneyī for the river-name Aruṇā and Pitṛpaitāmahī and Ikṣumatī for Sarasvatī. Vāruṇī is, therefore, the Yamunā itself. There is absolutely no justification for taking Vāruṇī as the name of a *tīrtha*[29] visited by the messengers since the text clearly speaks of crossing a river of this name (वारुणीं तीर्त्वा)

River Sarasvatī intended here is undoubtedly the eastern or Prācī Sarasvatī[30] of Kurukṣetra which is frequently mentioned in the Purāṇas.[31] Obviously, Kurukṣetra refers to the 'region' and not the 'town' of Thānesar-Kurukṣetra. Visualised as a sacrificial altar of the gods, it has been defined as the land bounded by Khāṇḍava or the region about Indraprastha on the south, Tūrghna or Srughna (modern Sugh) in the north, Pariṇah in the west and the Marus or the desert in place of the rubbish heap in the south-west.[32] It could be roughly equated with the East Punjab or the State of Haryana.

Puṣkarāvatī is difficult to locate with certainty. It may be either the town of Thanesar or more probably Bilaspur which lies on the route followed by the messengers. Both the towns are known for their lotus-lakes or *puṣkaras*.[33] Although both are on the eastern side of the Prācī Sarasvatī they are so close to the river that a slight error on the part of the poet in locating them on the western side of the river cannot be ruled out. The next verse describes the messengers as hastening for the sake of their errand while enjoying the sight of lakes full of flowers and streams flowing with pure water.

Proceeding fast, the party approaches and fords the celestial river Śaradaṇḍā which was full of pure water and frequented by various kinds of birds (verse 11). From the geographical situation and phonetic similarity this river has to be identified with the modern Sadadeni,[34] a tributary of the Markanda river which joins the Prācī Sarasvatī near Pṛthūdaka or the present town of Pehowa. Another tributary of the Markanda is the Aruṇā now called Run cho and mentioned by Vālmīki as Āgneyī.[35]

The Markanda rises at Baraban in the hills of Katasan and after flowing from south-east to south-west for a distance of about 24 km. passes into the Ambala district at Kala Amb.[36] The main stream, which acquired the name Markanda because of the great Ṛṣi's association with it, was probably better known by the names of its two branches Aruṇā and Śaradaṇḍā in the past. It is apparently the same as Śarāvatī which is a synonym of Śaradaṇḍā, both signifying 'a river abounding in reeds'.[37] The people occupying the region below the Nahan Shiwaliks along the river and extending westward probably upto the Tangri inherited its name and are known as a constituent of the Śālva confederacy of tribes.[38]

A traditional verse describes the Śarāvatī as the boundary between the Prācya and Udīcya divisions of India.[39] *Amarakośa* fully concurs with this in describing the country to the north of the Śarāvatī as north-west and that to its south as east.[40] Rājaśekhara says practically the same thing in different words when he places Uttarāpatha, another name for the Udīcyas, on the other side of Pṛthūdaka or modern Pehowa, about 14 miles west of Thanesar.[41] It is the 'Sadadeni-Aruṇā-Markanda that flows by the side of Pehowa after meeting the Thanesar-Prācī-Sarasvatī on the way. There is, thus, adequate evidence to support the Śarāvatī-Śaradaṇḍā-Markanda equation.

Hemādri quotes the same traditional verse with the reading Sarasvatī for Śarāvatī.[42] This would suggest that the Markanda river had, at some stage, even if only temporarily, acquired the name Sarasvatī. This inference is strengthened by the fact that Aruṇā-Markanda is described in the *Mahābhārata* as Sarasvatī's own form and brought by herself.[43] Another factor that points in the same direction is the association of sage Mārkaṇḍeya's name with the Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas.[44] This makes meaningful the use of the adjective *divyā* for Śaradaṇḍā, in the verse. The identification of the Śaradaṇḍā with the Sadadeni-Markanda, therefore, leaves little scope for doubt and makes the suggestions for its equation with Dṛṣadvatī-Chautang,[45] Sutlej[46] or Sirhind[47] clearly untenable.

From the Śaradaṇḍā, the messengers pass on to the town of Bhūliṅgā, paying obeisance on the way to the divine Nikūla tree which truly granted the wish of the seeker (verse 12). The scholiasts[48] explain it as a particular tree on the west bank of the Śaradaṇḍā. We have not come across any reference to a tree of this name elsewhere in literature. The route of the messengers lay along the Shiwalik foot-hills and it is customary in the hills to attribute holiness to any big tree for the simple reason that many of its kind are not seen around. The tree was probably closer to the town of Bhūliṅgā rather than the river Śaradaṇḍā and the party might have reached it just before entering the city. The name suggests that the town was the capital of the Bhūliṅgas, another tribe of the Śālva group, who occupied the country around the erstwhile states of Ramgarh and Morni, between the rivers Tangri and Ghaggar, and not the region about Rupar as suggested by Borooah.[49] The modern village of 'Bunga', north of Ramgarh, not far from the western bank of the Tangri river, apparently preserves the name 'Bhūliṅgā' with the loss of only one consonant.

The last two verses have to be taken together.[50] Taking the text as it is, the messengers then reach Ajakūlā and proceed to the city of the Bodhis, the ruling family of the Bodhas,[51] and thereafter ford the river Ikṣumatī and meeting the Brāhmaṇas who were adepts in the Vedas and, in their austerity, drank the water of the river by hands, went through the Vāhlīkas towards the small mountain. The identification of the Ikṣumatī as well as the local geography however justify the following construction. "Then having reached the Ajakūlā, the messengers went to the capital city of the Bodhis. In doing so, they forded the sacred Ikṣumatī, Brahmā's daughter, and enjoying the sight of Brāhmaṇas, expert in the Vedic lore, drinking river water with their bare hands in austerity, proceeded towards the small hills through the Vāhlīkas".[52] The brevity and terseness of the style and the situation of the river and the town involved here fully warrant this construction.

Ajakūlā, like Bhūliṅgā, is the name of a town and not of a river as supposed by Borooah[53] and Moti Chandra.[54] This is clear from the narrative as well as the grammatical formation involving the name of *aja* and the suffix *kūla* which, according to Pāṇini,[55] was used to form place-names. Dākṣikūla and Māhakikūla are other instances of similar formations cited in the *Kāśikā*.[56] Both these examples relate to places named after personalities of great antiquity. Dākṣi was the son of Prajāpati Dakṣa,[57] while Māhaki or 'descendent of Mahaka' is the patronymic of a teacher in the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa*.[58] Evidently, the name-ending *kūla* had become antiquated even by the time of Pāṇini, which points to the oldness of the name Ajakūlā. Though the name Aja here refers to the illustrious ancestor of Rāma cannot be considered seriously, although the pun concealed in the reading Indumatī for Ikṣumatī makes such a suggestion very tempting, for the reason that Indumatī was the name of the queen of Aja. In any case, the history of Aja's time is not yet sufficiently settled to entirely exclude such a possibility.[59]

The geographical situation of Ajakūlā suggests its identification with the present town of Panchkula, about eight km. from Chandigarh. The change from Aja to Pañca can be the result of the human tendency to make more comprehensible a name that is no more clearly intelligible. It is not possible to explain the name Panchkula as a place where five water-courses run, for the simple reason that this is not a fact. In its present form, therefore, the name is a misnomer. Nor is the presence of water-courses considered so important in hilly areas as to be commemorated by naming important towns after them. Panchkula is just on the right bank of the Ghaggar on the Ambala-Kalka road which is in line with the route that the messengers could possibly have taken in their journey into the Punjab. It must be remembered that the ancient trunk-route; adhered to the foothills where the rivers were easily fordable on account of their small width.[60]

The capital of the Bodhis could then be the present town of Panjaur[61] about 4 km. below Kalka. This town is undoubtedly on a very ancient site as its association with the heroes of the *Great Epic* in the local tradition would show. The small mountain falling on the way could be the hill on which Panjaur is situated. Sudāmā is not to be taken as the name of the mountain but as its adjective meaning 'easily crossable'[62] which the hump-like Panjaur hill is. Moving along the route from Panchkula to Panjaur, the party would not fail to see people bathing in the Ghaggar and drinking its water.

The Bodhas too were a member of the Śālva confederacy. If their capital was Panjaur they can be placed in the tract stretching from the Ghaggar to the Sutlej which tallies with the *Mahābhārata*[63] which brackets them with the Kurupañcālas, Śālvas, Mādreyas and Jāṅgalas. The Purāṇas, too, include them among the Janapadas of the Madhyadeśa with the Śālvas, Bhadrakāras and Bhūlingas, roughly on the eastern border of the Punjab.[64] Routes could be available from Panjaur for onward march for a crossing over the Sutlej via Ludhiana[65] or Rupar or further upstream via Nangal-Bhakra. All the tribes of the Śālva group occupied the tract along the Shiwalik foothills from the Gaṅgā to the Ravi, which supports the proposed identification.

The location of Bhūliṅgā, Ajakūlā and the Bodhi metropolis, makes the identification of the river Ikṣumatī comparatively easy. Flowing by the side of Panchkula, it could be no other than Ghaggar. This can be supported by a number of considerations. The *Mahābhārata*[66] describes Ikṣumatī as a river of Kurukṣetra. Literally, the name signifies a river that is rich in sugarcane or whose belt is particularly noteworthy for its fabulous cane crops. This is indeed applicable to the present river Ghaggar.

In several villages in the Parganas of Jodhpur and Malani in Rajasthan stone cane-crushers were found which are said to have been used for making gur when the Hakra flowed and supported rich cane crops in the area.[67] Sultan Masaud, son of Mahmud of Ghazni, found the tract around the town of Sirsa, the ancient Śairīṣaka,[68] remarkable for the extensive growth of cane with which his forces used to fill up the moat for storming the fortress.[69] The records of Timur's invasion also mention the sugarcane jungles of Tohana or Pāṇini's Tauṣāyaṇa.[70] Both the towns of Sirsa and Tohana are situated near the Ghaggar. Ikṣumatī is a derivative name used for the river whose real identity is given away by the adjectives qualifying it. It has been called Pitṛpaitāmahī. Attempts have been made by commentators to explain this adjective to mean 'connected with the ancestors of the Ikṣvākus' or 'frequented by the ancestors of Daśaratha' or 'the country and towns whose banks were possessed by the Ikṣvākus.[71] Such a construction would, however, be not only far fetched but also unreasonable in as much as the party comprised the messengers who were, at best, only royal servants and not Rāma or Bharata or any other member of the royal family with reference to whom the river could be called Pitṛpaitāmahī.

As it is, the adjective simply means 'created by God Brahmā' who is known also as Pitāmaha.[72] Now, the river most closely associated with Brahmā is the Sarasvatī.[73] She has been variously described as his daughter,[74] his consort[75] and his first creation among rivers.[76] The alternate reading *Devarṣicaritā* too fits perfectly in the case of Sarasvatī. Illustrious names among gods and men are connected with her.[77] Vālmīki therefore uses Ikṣumatī only as another name for Sarasvatī and leaves us in no doubt about it. Indumatī, the variant reading for Ikṣumatī, is also a name for Sarasvatī which is supposed to have conveyed the *Indumat* or *Agni-Vaḍavānala* to the ocean.[78] The readings *Devarṣicaritā* and *Indumatī* are, indeed, so obviously applicable to Sarasvatī that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that whosoever introduced them in the text must have been fully conscious of the poet's intention to refer to this river here. The names Śaradaṇḍā and Ikṣumatī or Indumatī, again, conform to Vālmīki's preference for derivative names, as noted above, in the case of Vāruṇī and Āgneyī.

This presents an interesting situation where we have three Sarasvatīs, *viz.*, the Ikṣumatī-Ghaggar-Sarasvatī, the Śaradaṇḍā-Markanda-Sarasvatī and the Kurukṣetra-Thanesar-Sarasvatī, also known as Prācī or Eastern Sarasvatī. While it does call for explanation, it does not defy a satisfactory solution. Much has been written on the Sarasvatī and a detailed examination of the problem demands an independent treatment which will be undertaken separately some other time. At this place we present the case only briefly.

The identification of the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī with the old bed of the Ghaggar in Rajasthan, called Hakra or Wahinda, is not seriously questioned.[79] The difference of view is mainly over the course of the river above Vinaśana or the region about Suratgarh.[80] It is somewhere above this point that the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī[81] took place. A long distance before this, the Markanda-Sarasvatī joins the Ghaggar three miles above Akalgarh[82] after the Prācī-Sarasvatī of Thanesar has already merged with it at Urnai near Pehowa.[83]

Now, the *Ṛgveda* describes the Sarasvatī as the river *par excellence*, rushing

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down right from the mountains up to the ocean[84] with a tempestuous roar,[85] breaking and carrying down ridges of hills like lotus-stems[86] and filling the realms of earth and the wide tract of the firmament.[87] It is superior to her companions,[88] and surpasses all other rivers by her majesty[89] and glory.[90] It is fierce,[91] swiftest of the swift,[92] mightiest of her class[93] and best of rivers[94] and even best of goddesses.[95] Neither the Markanda-Sarasvatī nor the Kurukṣetra-Prācī Sarasvatī could ever lay claim to this description. The latter, although now monopolising the name, is indeed but an insignificant rainy-season nullah, hardly fit to be called a river. It might be somewhat better around the time of Harṣavardhana but could never have been so big as to inspire the Ṛgvedic poets to the extent of eliciting the lofty epithets quoted above. The terrain simply rules out such a possibility.

On the other hand, this picture of the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī immediately recalls to mind the 2-6 miles wide bed of the Hakra[96] in Rajasthan and the furious flooded Ghaggar in its upper reaches. If ever the Ghaggar was a perennial river—as it undoubtedly was before the Brāhmaṇa period where we find Vinaśana mentioned for the first time—it must have deserved every word of the praise showered on the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī. Even now, albeit shorn of its prehistoric grandeur, it presents a formidable spectacle when at the peak of flood.[97] The richness it bestowed on the soil in its belt has earned for it the epithet of Ikṣumatī from Vālmīki, and won the adjectives like 'possessed of wealth,'[98] 'having a golden path,'[99] 'possessed of vigour on account of flood'[100] and 'distributing riches to the whole world'[101] from the Ṛgvedic seers. The Ghaggar-Ikṣumatī was therefore the original and 'Ṛgvedic' Sarasvatī which fact has been acknowledged by the Ādikavi in the use of the adjective Pitṛpaitāmahī.

A grave catastrophe, probably in the form of some fierce tectonic upheaval,[102] took place during the twilight between the *Ṛgveda* and the Brāhmaṇa period. It brought about serious changes in the topography of the Shiwalik belt between the Yamunā and the Rāvi. That the upheaval was volcanic in nature is suggested by the story of the Sarasvatī carrying the Vaḍavānala fire to the western ocean. The event should have been so gigantic in proportions that it resulted, *inter alia*, in the loss of the major part of Sarasvatī's catchment area and partial diversion of its waters to other smaller streams including the Markanda which, possibly, emerged in the process as an entirely new river. This is apparently the meaning of Sarasvatī following Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya[103] who had, with his own eyes, witnessed the great deluge in the age of Manu Vaivasvata.[104] The river flowed red with the rubble thrown up and carried down in the process. The names Aruṇā and Āgneyī point in the same direction. So does the legend that the river was flowing full of blood for the long time.[105] The emergence of the Śaradaṇḍā-Markanda as a new river is supported by the tradition that Brahmā deputed his own daughter to convey the Vaḍavānala to the sea on which, to counter the heat of the fire, Sarasvatī took the form of a river.[106] That is how the name of the Sarasvatī got associated with the Markanda with the sudden drying up of the Ghaggar. The second equation of Sarasvatī with the Śaradaṇḍā-Sarasvatī-Aruṇā-Markanda is, therefore, rightly admitted in the description of the Aruṇā as Sarasvatī's own self in the *Mahābhārata*.[107]

The glory of the Śaradaṇḍā was however short-lived. The reasons are easy to see. Firstly, it did not inherit the perennial flow of the mighty river but only its passing fury which was gradually limited to the rainy season. Secondly, the town of Sthāṇvīśvara gained prominence and gradually appropriated the name Kurukṣetra which had earlier denoted virtually the whole of the Eastern Punjab or Haryana. The small stream flowing by its side also gained in the bargain and came to be christened after the most sacred mother-river which, however, it failed to replace completely on account of its own smallness. It was evidently this fact that got it the epithet Prācī or eastern, indicating, at the same time, that it was different from the original Sarasvatī which was in the west, as both the Markanda and the Ghaggar are.[108] With the passage of time, the significance of Prācī was lost and the transformation was completed. Thus, for example, we find in the *Harṣacarita*, the Bhairavācārya staying in a deserted temple in the forest on the Sarasvatī-bank near the town,[109] Harṣa's mother walking to the Sarasvatī for committing *satī* on its bank,[110] Prabhākaravardhana being cremated on the Sarasvatī,[111] and Harṣa's forces starting on their victory-march from its bank.[112]

The fact of the three rivers bearing the name Sarasvatī will not appear strange when one considers traditions mentioning five[113] and seven[114] Sarasvatis from the earliest times. To-day there are dozens of rivers known by this holy name.[115] The best way of paying homage to the sacred mother river was, of course, to name after her other rivers in every part of the country and ultimately to make her name applicable to every river in general.[116]

Thus, having crossed the Ikṣumatī-Sarasvatī or Ghaggar, the messengers proceeded through the Vāhlīkas, reached Ajakūlā or Panchkula and went to the small hill of Panjaur. Evidently, Vālmīki considered Sarasvatī the south-eastern limit of the Vāhlīkas which generally designated the country and tribes of the Punjab.

The location of the Vāhlīkas is, however, not free from controversy. D.C. Sircar[117] and B.C. Law[118] are of the view that the Vāhlīka country is the modern Balkh region on the Oxus in the northern part of Afghanistan and the reading '*Vāhlīkān*' in the passage is a mistake for *Vāhīkān*. The Vāhīkas are placed on the Beas on the strength of a verse[119] offering a fanciful derivation of the name. According to F.E. Pargiter,[120] however, the name Vāhlīka itself has been altered in later times to Vāhīka, seemingly by a punning resemblance to '*vahis*' meaning 'outside'. Robert Shafer[121] also finds the two names interchangeable. Padma

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Misra[122] thinks that the earlier name Vāhīka was gradually replaced by Vāhlīka by the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

We have seen above that the river Śarāvatī-Sarasvatī has been described as the dividing line between the Udīcyas and the Prācyas.[123] The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata[124] declares Vāhlīka as the language of the Udīcyas. This makes the Vāhlīkas coterminus with the Udīcyas embracing the whole of the Punjab beyond the Śarāvatī-Sarasvatī river, which roughly agrees with Vālmīki's use of *Vāhlīkan* in the passage with the change to Ikṣumatī-Sarasvatī. Moreover, the boundaries of states and regions in ancient India were shifting and often underwent material changes with the large scale movement and mingling of tribes and communities[125] after which they were named. It is difficult therefore to be dogmatic on the view held by Law and Sircar particularly when *Vāhīkān* fails to appear as a variant reading anywhere in the available manuscripts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[126]

Under the circumstances, it is not unsafe to leave the messengers in the country of Vāhlīkas, moving fast on their errand after a stop-over at Panjaur.

In the detailed examination, as above, of the *Rāmāyaṇa* passage, we have traced the geographical connotation of the regions of Pañcāla, Kurujāṅgala, Kāmyakavana, Kurukṣetra and Vāhlīkas as described by Vālmīki.

The derivative river-names Vāruṇī and Ikṣumatī have been shown to correspond to the Yamunā and the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī, respectively. The proposed identification of Puṣkarāvatī with Bilaspur-Kapālamocana and of the capital of the Bodhas with Panjaur fits in the geographical picture before us. The evolution from Śaradaṇḍā to Sadadeni, from Bhūliṅgā to Bunga and Ajakūlā to Panchkula is simple and straight. In short, all the identifications satisfy the historical, geographical and linguistic considerations as applicable to them.

Notes and References

1. Critical Edn. by P.L. Vaidya, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1962, Vol. II, *Ayodhyā*., 62.10ff.; 65.1ff.
2. *See Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, (*VIJ*) 14 (1976) pp. 192-206, on *Ayodhyā*., 65.1ff.
3. Pp. 375ff. Unless otherwise specified all references to the *Rāmāyaṇa* are from the Cr. Edn.
4. Vide *Rāmāyaṇa* Gujarati Press Ed., S.K. Mudholkar, vol. II, p. 803.
5. *Ibid.*
6. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, (Second edn., Delhi, 1971), pp. 236-39.

7. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, (*AGI*), (Ed. by S.N. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1924), p. 702.
8. See *Mahābhāratā*, (Gita Press Edn.), *Ādi.*, 95, 34 :

   सुहोत्रः खल्विक्ष्वाकुकन्याम् उपयेमे सुवर्णां नाम । तस्यामस्य जज्ञे हस्ती, य इदम् हास्तिनपुरं स्थापयामास । एतदस्य हास्तिनपुरत्वम् ।

   And, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, (Gita Press Edn.), 4.19.28 :

   सुहोत्राद्धस्ती य इदम् हस्तिनापुरमावासयामास ।

9. P.L. Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age*, (Lucknow, 1956), p. 45.
10. F.E. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Varanasi, 1962), p. 5.
11. B.C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, (Second Edn., Poona, 1973), p. 38.
12. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, (Rep., Varanasi 1969), p. 353. Also, Nando Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Med. India*, (Third Edn., Delhi, 1971), p. 88.
13. Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.
14. V. Fausboll, *The Jātaka*, vol. IV, (London, 1963), p. 444, *Somanassa Jātaka*: अतीते कुरुरट्ठे उत्तरपञ्चालनगरे रेणुनाम राजा...
15. *India as known to Pāṇini*, (Second edn., Varanasi, 1963), p. 56.
16. *Cf.* : *AGI*, p. 701; Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 110; S.M. Ali, *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, (Second edn., Delhi, 1973), p. 135; R.C. Majumdar, Ed., *The Vedic Age*, (Fourth imp., Bombay, 1965), p. 299; B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, (Hindi edn., Lucknow, 1972), p. 67; Anundoram Borooah, *Ancient Geography of India*, (Rep. Gauhati, 1971), p. 38: Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 354; and H.H. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, (Rep., Calcutta, 1972), p. 158, n. 98.
17. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
18. The *Mbh.*, describes the Pāṇḍavas entering the Dvaitavana from the Kāmyakavana (*Vana.*, chs. 22-24) and vice versa (*Vana.*, chs. 177-82).
19. See *Mbh.*, *Vana.*, 36, 41 and 177, 21 :

   ग व्यासवाक्यमुदितो वनाद् द्वैतवनात् ततः ।
   ययौ सरस्वतीकूले काम्यकं नाम काननम् ।।
   सरस्वतीमेत्य निवासकामा सरस्ततो द्वैतवनं प्रतीयुः ।।

20. O.P. Bharadwaj, 'From the Sutlej to the Gaṅgā with Vālmīki', *VIJ*, 14 (1976) 205.
21. *Vide*, *Śabdakalpadruma*, Vol. II, p. 529, quoting *Bhāvaprakāśa* :

   स्वल्पोदकतृणो यस्तु प्रवातः प्रचुरातपः ।
   स ज्ञेयो जाङ्गलो देशः बहुधान्यादिसंयुतः ।।

And :

आकाशशुभ्र उच्चश्च स्वल्पपानीयपादप: ।
शमीकरीरविल्वार्कपीलुककंन्धुसंकुल: ॥
हरिणैणर्क्षपृषतगोकर्णखरसंकुल: ।
सुस्वादुफलवान् देशो वातलो जाङ्गल: स्मृत: ॥

22. *Manusmṛti*, 7.69 :

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जाङ्गलं सस्यसम्पन्नमार्यप्रायमनाविलम् ।
रम्यमानतसामन्तं स्वाजीव्यं देशमावसेत् ।.

23. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.
24. Survey Of India 1/4'' sheets.
25. See *Raghuvaṁśa*, (Ed., K.M. Joglekar, Bombay, 1975), 15.28 :

उपकूलं स कालिन्द्या: पुरीं पौरुषभूषण: ।
निर्ममे निर्ममोऽर्थेषु मधुरां मधुराकृति: ॥

See also *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, (Ed., K.N. Dravid, Poona, 1922), 1, 2 :

कालिन्द्या: पुलिनेषु केलिकुपितामुत्सृज्य रासे रसम् ।

26. *Rāmāyaṇa*, (Venkateshwar Press edn., Bombay) *Ayodhyā.*, 55.4 :

गंगायमुनयो: सन्धिमादाय मनुजर्षभ ।
कालिन्दीमनुगच्छेतां नदीं पश्चान्मुखाश्रिताम् ॥

27. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*, (Reprint, Delhi), p. 1243; Ravijā is another synonym used in *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa*, (Ed., Hrishikesha Shastri, Calcutta 1891), 6.7 :

गंगा पुण्यनदी ज्ञेया यतो विष्णुपदोद्भवा ।
रविजा यमुना ब्रह्मन् तयोर्योगमनुत्तमम् ॥

28. *Ibid.*, p. 921.
29. Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, (Delhi, 1977), p. 16.
30. It was known as Prācī Sarasvatī till as late as the 9th century A.D.; Pehoa Inscription of Bhoja I of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty, *Epigraphia Indica*, I. 187, cited by H.C. Raychaudhary, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, (Calcutta, 1958), p. 129.
31. *Eg.*, *Bhāgavata*, 4.19.1 :

अथादीक्षत राजा तु हयमेधशतेन स: ।
ब्रह्मावर्ते मनो: क्षेत्रे यत्र प्राची सरस्वती ॥

And, *Vāmana Purāṇa*, (Ed., A.S. Gupta, Varanasi, 1968), सरोमाहात्म्य, 21. 19 :

स्नात्वा शुद्धिमवाप्नोति यत्री प्राची सरस्वतो ।
देवमार्गप्रतिष्ठा या देवमार्गेण नि:सृता ॥

32. See *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, 5.1.1: तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रं वेदिरासीत्, तस्यै खान्डवो दक्षिणार्धं आसीत्। तूर्घ्नमुत्तारार्धः, परिणत् जघानार्धः, मरव उत्करः......
...Pariṇah has not been satisfactorily identified. The equation of तूर्घ्न with स्रुघ्न suggested by P.V. Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. IV, p. 681), appears to be correct.

33. Situated 77.18′ E. by 30.18′ N. on the Mulana-Chhachhrauli road, Bilaspur is known for the two very old lotus lakes, Kapālamocana and Ṛṇamocana, both well-known *tīrthas* in its vicinity. The Kapālamocana fair is held here every Pūrṇimā in October and is attended by lakhs of people. The town was probably important in ancient times and might well be identical with the town of the same name mentioned as capital of the Śrīkaṇṭha Janapada in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 40.42 :

    अभूच्छ्रीकण्ठनिलये विलासपुरनामनि ।
    पुरे विनयशीलाख्यो नाम्नान्वर्थेन भूपतिः ॥

    At Sthāṇvīśvara or Thanesar, there are several lotus lakes including the sacred Sannihati and Kurukṣetra or Brahmasara tanks. Kurukṣetra was known for its lotus lakes from the earliest times. *Vide Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 11.5.1.13; *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, 18.45; *Mbh.*, *Ādi*, 206, 47-48 and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, (Gita Press edn.), 4.6.63, *etc.*

34. P.L. Bhargava, *The Geography of Ṛgvedic India*, (Lucknow, 1964), pp.72, 100.
35. Bharadwaj, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 f.
36. *Sirmur Gazetteer*, (Simla, 1969), p. 11.
37. Cf. Ram Gopal, *India of the Vedic Kalpasūtras*, (Delhi, 1959), pp. 95f.
38. The relevant verse quoted by *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on Pāṇini, 4.1.73; *Vaijayantī-Kośa* 1.3.1.38-39; and *Candravṛtti* on *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, 2.4.103, is :

    उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मदुकारा युगन्धराः ।
    भूलिगाः शरदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

39. The verse is quoted by *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini 1.11.75; Kṣīrasvāmī's commentary on *Amarakośa*, 2.1.6-7, and Haradatta on *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, 2.7.17.17 :

    प्रागुदञ्चौ विभजते हंसः क्षीरोदके यथा ।
    विदुषां शब्दसिद्ध्यर्थं सा नः पातु शरावती ॥

40. Ed. by Haradutt Sharma, Poona, 1941, II, 7-8 :

    लोकोऽयं भारतं वर्षं शरावत्यास्तु योऽवधेः ।
    देशः प्राग् दक्षिणः प्राच्य उदीच्यः पश्चिमोत्तरः ।

41. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, (Ed. by Kedaranath Sharma, Patna, 1954), ch. 17. p. 227...पृथूदकात् परत उत्तरापथः...
42. See P.V. Kane, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 351.

43. *Cf.*, *Śalya.*, 43. 30 (i) : अरुणामानयामास स्वां तनू भरतर्षभ ।।

44. In *Vāmana Purāṇa*, *Saromāhātmya*, 11.23, she is said to have followed sage Mārkaṇḍeya wherever he led her :

    प्रत्युवाच महात्मानं मार्कण्डेयं महामुनिम् ।
    यत्र त्वं नेष्यसे विप्र तत्र यास्याम्यतन्द्रिता ।।

45. Borooah, *op. cit.*, p. 17, and V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
46. J. Przylusky, *Ancient Peoples of the Punjab*; *The Udumbaras and Śālvas*, (Reprint, Calcutta, 1960), p. 3.
47. Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
48. The Gujarati Press edn of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, vol. II, pp. 802f.
49. *op. cit.*, p. 17.
50. There is a lot of confusion in the text here. The Critical Edition gives three lines for verse 13, *i.e.*, apart from a full line, a full verse, besides other variant readings in the Notes. The most logical reconstruction of the text could be like this :

    ततो देवर्षिचरितां तेरुरिक्षुमतां नदीम् ।
    अजकूलां ततः प्राप्य बोधीनां नगरं ययुः ।।
    अवेक्ष्याञ्जलिपानांश्च ब्राह्मणान् वेदपारगान् ।
    ययुर्मध्येन वाह्लीकान् सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।।

    We have however accepted the first line as it is given in the Critical Edition with the reading : पितृपैतामहीम्.

51. *Cf.*, Prabhudayal Agnihotri, *Patañjali kālina Bhārata*, (Patna, 1963), p. 104.
52. The use of the accusative with मध्येन is unusual but not unknown. Vālmīki has a special weakness for it as the other similar expressions like जग्मुर्नदीं मध्येन (2.68.12) and मध्येन कुरुजांगलम् (2.68.13) would show. For more examples of this usage, see *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, Böhtlingk and Roth, (St. Petersburg, 1868), vol. V, pp. 947-98. Vālmīki appears to have believed in the principle, विवक्षातः कारकाणि भवन्ति; *Cf.*, Satya Vrat, *The Rāmāyaṇa – A linguistic study*, (Delhi, 1964). p. 77.
53. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.
54. *Op. cit.*, p. 16. The identification Ajakūlā with the modern river Aji is wide off the mark. The use of the verb प्राप्य <(प्र√आप्) instead of तेरुः, or तीर्त्वा (√तॄ) or प्रतिजग्मुः< (प्रति√गम्) clearly makes it a place-name.
55. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 6.2. 129: कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् । *Cf.*, V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

58. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 163.
59. P.L. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-70.
60. R.K. Mookerji, *Hindu civilization*, (Fourth Edn., Bombay, 1964), vol. II, p. 314; T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, (Indian Edn., Calcutta, 1950), p. 64; S.M. Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 176f.
61. The old name was Pañcapura. See 'Hansi Inscr. of Prithvīrāya II,' *Indian Antiquary* (*IA*), 41 (1912) 19, vv. 4-6. The identification with Panchapattana is wrong. *Cf.*, Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan dynasties*, (Delhi, 1959), p. 66 and Cuṇningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, *ASIR*, XIV, p. 71).
62. From the √दम् 'to subdue', with the prefix सु added in the sense of सुखेन 'easily'. Vālmīki uses it in the same sense as an adjective of Śatadru in *Rām.*, 2.65.1..... .. ततः सुदामां द्युतिमान् संतीर्यावेक्ष्य तां नदीम् ।......
63. *Mbh.*, *Bhīṣma.*, 9.39 :

    तत्रेमे कुरुपांचालाः शाल्वा माद्रेयजांगलाः ।
    शूरसेना पुलिन्दाश्च बोधा मालास्तथैव च ।।

64. D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 30f. There is no evidence to support their location in the Jullundur doab as proposed by Borooah (*op. cit.*, p. 17) or in the country around Indraprastha and the Nigambodha Tīrtha (Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 40).
65. Preferred by Bharata on his return journey. See, O.P. Bharadwaj, 'The identification of Ludhiana on the basis of the Epics and the Purāṇas', *Purāṇa*, 17 (1975) 106-17.
66. *Mbh.*, *Ādi.*, 3.141 :

    कुरुक्षेत्रं च वसतां नदीमिक्षुमतीमनु ।
    जघन्यजस्तक्षकस्य श्रुतसेनेति यः श्रुतः ।।

67. Gauri Shanker Hira Chand Ojha, *Ojha Nibandha Saṅgraha*, vol. I, (Udaipur, 1954), p. 25.
68. Mentioned under Pāṇini, 4.2.80. See V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 74 and *Mbh.*, *Sabhā.*, 32.6.

    शैरीषकं महेत्थं च वशे चक्रे महाद्युतिः ।
    आक्रोशं चैत्र राजर्षि तेन युद्धमभून्महत् ।।

69. R.B. Whitehead, 'The river courses of the Punjab and Sind', *Indian Antiquary*, 61 (1932) 163-69, see esp., p. 164.
70. V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
71. *Vide* Gujarati Press edn. of *Rām.*, vol. II, p. 803.
72. *Eg.*, *Mbh.*, *Ādi.*, 1.32 :

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यस्मात् पितामहो यज्ञे प्रभुरेकः प्रजापतिः ।
ब्रह्मा सुरगुरुः स्थाणुर्मनुः कः परमेष्ठ्यथ ।।

And, *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, (Ed., Jagadish Shastri, Delhi, 1973), 4.6.60 :

तदा विभज्य देवानां (sic ?) मानुषांश्च पशूनपि ।
विभज्येकैकशः प्रादाद् ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः ।।

Also, *Brahmāṇḍa*, 4.6.66 and 4.9.46.

73. It is called Brahmanadī; see *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 1.7.2 :

ब्रह्मनद्यां सरस्वत्यामाश्रमः पश्चिमे तटे ।
शम्या प्रास इति प्रोक्तः ऋषीणां सत्रवर्धवः ।।

See also 9.16.23 :

ततश्चावभृथस्नानविधूताशेषकिल्विषः ।
सरस्वत्यां ब्रह्मनद्यां रेजे व्यभ्र इवांशुमान् ।।

74. *Mbh.*, *Śānti.*, 121, 24 :

तथोक्ता ब्रह्मकन्येति लक्ष्मीर्वृत्तिः सरस्वती ।
दण्डनीतिर्जगद्धात्री दण्डो हि बहुविग्रहः ।।

And, *Vāmana Purāṇa* 23.13 :

तत्र देवीं ददर्शाथ पुण्यां पापविमोचिनीम् ।
प्लक्षजां ब्रह्मणः पुत्रीं हरिजिह्वां सरस्वतीम् ।।

Also, note 78 *infra.*

75. *Devībhāgavata*, 2.9.6.17 :

लक्ष्मीः सरस्वती गंगा तिस्रो भार्या हरेरपि ।
प्रेम्णा समास्तास्तिष्ठन्ति सततं हरिसन्निधौ ।।

76. *Vāmana Purāṇa*, 23.44 :

पूर्वं नदीयं प्रपितामहेन सृष्टा सम भूतगणः समस्तैः ।।

Note the use of प्रपितामह, an exact equivalent of पितृपितामह. It is called the first amongst rivers, *Mbh*; *Anuśāsana.*, 146. 17 :

प्रथमा सर्वसरिताम् नदी सागरगामिनी ।।

77. Raghunath Airi, *Concept of Sarasvatī*, part I, (Rohtak, 1977), *passim*.
78. *Padma Purāṇa*, (Gurumandal Series, Calcutta, 1957), *Sṛṣṭi*, 18.159ff :

मां च देवासुराः प्राहूः स त्वं ब्रूहि यशस्विनीम् ।
नीत्वा विनिक्षिपेदेनं वाडवं लवणाम्बुनि ।।69।।

…एवभुक्ता तु सा बाला वाष्पाकुलितलोचना ।
प्रणम्य पद्मजन्मानं गच्छाम्युक्तवती तु सा ।।157।।

…पश्चिमं सागरं नेतुं वाडवज्वलनं शुभे ।
एवं क्रमेण गच्छन्त्या तदापः प्राप्स्यते शुभे ॥197॥

For the full story, see vv. 159-204.
And, *Skanda Purāṇā*, *Prabhāṣa-khaṇḍa*, 17.53 :

समाहूय ततो देवीं स्वां सुतां पद्मसभवः ।
उवाच पुत्रि गच्छ त्वं गृहीत्वाग्निं मदहोधिम् ॥

79. *Cf.*, H.C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 f.; C.F. Oldham, 'The Sarasvatī and the lost river of the Indian desert', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *JRAS*, 1893, (Series 3, vol. 25), pp. 49-76, esp., p. 51, and Indras, *infra*, fn. 102, pp. 138ff.
80. M.L. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 17, and Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 181, places it near Sirsa.
81. M.L. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 57 places it below Manaktheri near Badopal and rightly identifies the Dṛṣadvatī with the old bed now occupied by the Hissar-Sirsa branch of the Western Jumna canal.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
83. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
84. *ṚV*, 7.95.2 : यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात् ।
85. *ṚV*, 6.61.8 : अमश्चरति रोरुवत् ।
86. *ṚV*, 6.61.2 : सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः ।
87. *ṚV*, 6.61.11 : आपप्रुषी पार्थिवान्युरु रजो अन्तरिक्षम् ।
88. *ṚV*, 7.95.4 : उत्तरा (सखीभ्यः) ।
89. *ṚV*, 7.95.1 : महिना सिन्धुरन्याः ।
90. *ṚV*, 6.61.13 : द्युम्नेभिरन्या ।
91. *ṚV*, 6.61.7 : घोरा ।
92. *ṚV*, 6.61.13 : अपसामपस्तमा ।
93. *ṚV*, 7.96.1 : असुर्या नदीनाम् ।
94. *ṚV*, 2.41.16 : नदीतमा ।
95. *ṚV*, 2.41.16 : देवितमा ।
96. Oldham, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
97. *Cf.*, Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, XIV, p. 88.
98. *ṚV*, 7.95.4 : राया युजा ।
99. *ṚV*, 6.61.7 : हिरण्यवर्तनिः ।
100. *ṚV*, 6.61.3 : वाजेभिर्वाजिनीवती ।
101. *ṚV*, 7.95.2: रायश्चेतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेः ।
102. *Cf.*, N.N. Godbole, 'Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst.*, 40 (1961) 1-41, esp., p. 21. The entire bed of the Sarasvatī lies on an earthquake belt which made it subject to more serious changes through

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earth-movements. Infras, *Lost Sarasvatī*, (Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1967), preface, p. iv, places the catastrophe about the middle of the 2nd millenium B.C. in the reign of King Śāntanu.

103. See note no. 44 above.

104. *Mbh.*, *Vana.*, 180; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 12.8.

105. *Skanda Purāṇā*, (Venkateshwar Press edn.), *Nāgara-khaṇḍa*, 172.13 :

यस्मात् पापे वचो मह्यं न कृत कुनदि त्वया ।
तस्माद्रक्तप्रवाहस्ते, जलजोऽयं भविष्यति ॥

Also, *Vāmana Purāṇa*, *Saromāhātmyā*, 19.22.

ततः सरस्वती शप्ता विश्वामित्रेण धीमता ।
अवहच्छोणितोन्मिश्रं तोयं संवत्सरं तदा ।

The same verse is available in *Mbh.*, *Śalya.*, 42.39 (ii) and 40 (i). The division of Sarasvatī's waters into two rivers is clearly stated in *Skanda.*, *Nāgara.*, 173.14.

द्वितीयस्तु प्रवाहो यः संभ्रमात्तस्य निर्गतः ।
सा च सांभ्रमती नाम नदी जाता धरातले ॥

106. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa*, 33.40-41 :

ततो विसृज्य तां देवी नदी भूत्वा सरस्वती ।
हिमवन्तं गिरिं प्राप्य प्लक्षात्तत्र विनिर्गता ॥

107. See note 43, *supra.*

108. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

109. *Bāna's Harṣacarita*, ed. by K.P. Parab, (Bombay, 1912), p. 102 : परिव्राट् तमुपनगरं सरस्वतीतटवनावलम्बिनि शून्यायतने स्थितमाचचक्षे ।

110. *Ibid.*, p. 168 : देव्यपि यशोवती...पौराक्रन्दनिर्भराभिरुध्यमानेव दिग्भिः सरस्वतीतीरं ययौ ।

111. *Ibid.*, p. 170 : नरेन्द्रः स्वयं...शवशिविका...सरितं सरस्वतीं नीत्वा...यशः शेषतामनीयत ।...

112. *Ibid.*, p. 203 : नातिदूरे च नगरादुपसरस्वति निर्मिते...मन्दिरे प्रस्थानमकरोत् ।... सरस्वतीतीरे...गम्भीरध्वनिरताड्यत प्रयाणपटहः ।

113. *Yajurveda*, 34.11.

पञ्च नद्यः सरस्वतीमपि यन्ति सस्रोतसः ।
सरस्वती तु पञ्चधा सो देशेऽभवत्सरित् ॥

114. *Ṛgveda*, 6.61.10 : सप्तस्वसा सुजुष्टा
and 7.36.6 : सरस्वती सप्तथी सिन्धुमाता ।

115. The most well-known are the Thanesar-Sarasvatī, the Prabhāsa-Sarasvatī, the Arbuda-Sarasvatī and the Viṣṇugaṅgā-Sarasvatī.

116. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57.30 :

सर्वाः पुण्याः सरस्वत्यः सर्वाः गंगाः समुद्रगाः ॥

117. *Op. cit.*, pp. 237ff.
118. *Op. cit.*, pp. 70ff.
119. *Mbh., Karṇa.*, 44.41-42 :

    वहिश्च नाम हकिश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ ।
    तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ।।

120. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 311, n.
121. *Ethnography of Ancient India*, (Wiesbaden, 1954), pp. 49, 67 and 101.
122. 'Vāhīka and Bālhīka', *Indian Culture*, 8 (1941) 85ff. Vālhika, however, occurs in *Atharvaveda*, 5.22.5, 7, 9, thrice and is the older of the two forms.
123. See notes 39-40, *supra*.
124. *Nātyaśāstra*. 17.52 : वाह्लीकभाषा उदीच्यानाम् ।
125. The *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (1.10.1) records a locust attack on the Kurus which forced people out of the region : मटचीहतेषु कुरुषु आटिक्या सह जाययोषस्तिहं चाक्रायण इभ्यग्रामे प्रद्राणक उवास ।।...

    Mbh., Śalya., 51, 37-38 mentions a twelve-year draught resulting in the migration of *rṣis* in all directions from the region of the Sarasvatī :

    अनावृष्टिरनुप्राप्ता राजन् द्वादशवार्षिकी ।
    तस्यां द्वादशवार्षिक्यामनावृष्ट्यां महर्षयः ।।
    वृत्त्यर्थं प्राद्रवन् राजन् क्षुधार्ताः सर्वतो दिशम् ।

    Mbh., Sabhā., 14.25-29 describes a number of tribes moving lock, stock and barrel to the west, south and in every direction out of fear of Jarāsandha. *Skanda Purāṇa, Revā-khaṇḍa*, 10.6ff., speaks of large-scale exodus of population from Kurukṣetra on account of a hundred-year draught. Also *cf.*, Buddha Prakash, *Political and social movements in ancient Punjab*, (Delhi, 1964), pp. 217ff., and D.R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign elements in Hindu population', *Indian Antiquary*, 41 (1911) 7-37.
126. *Vide*, Cr. Edn. As a matter of fact, Vālmīki mentions only *Vāhlīka* and not *Vāhīka*. See, *e.g.*, Venkateshwar Press Ed., *Bāla.*, 6.22, and *Kiṣkindhā.*, 43.11-12.

10

Valmiki's Geography of Kuruksetra

Earlier in four articles we have examined Vālmīki's knowledge of the geography of the Kurukṣetra region as expressed in the two passages[1] of his Rāmāyaṇa The first of these describes the journey of the messengers from Ayodhyā to Rājagṛha, capital of Kekaya, to bring back Bharata on the sudden and sad demise of Daśaratha as a result of the shock on Rāma's exile. The second relates the homeward march of Bharata. We are now in a position to sum up the account with some final observations.

A tally of the geographical names from east to northwest would be as follows :

Actual name mentioned by Vālmīki 1	*Identification according to Vālmīki's description* 2
Regions and Tribes	
(1) Pañcāla	North Pañcāla extending on both sides of the Ganges.
(2) Kuliṅga	=Kulinda=Kuṇinda= Pulinda. Region along the Yamunā to the North of Srughna.
(3) Kurujāṅgala	North-eastern strip of the Kurukṣetra region.
(4) Kīramatsya	Region about the village of Kirmach to the west of Jagadhri on the right bank of the Dṛṣadvatī or the present Sirsa branch of the western Jamuna canal.

1	2
(5) **Kurukṣetra**	Roughly the region of Haryana or East Punjab satisfying the earliest definition given by the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,* v.i.i.
(6) Śaradaṇḍa	The region below the Nahan Shivaliks along the Sadadeni-Markanda river.
(7) Bhūliṅga	The country around the erstwhile states of Ramgarh and Morni lying between the Tangri and the Ghaggar-Sarasvati rivers.
(8) Bodha	The tract along the Ṣhiwalik foothills between the Ghaggar and the Sutlej.
(9) Vālhīka	The region of Punjab in general extending north and westward from the Ikṣumati-Saraswatī or the Ghaggar.
Mountains	
(1) Mahāśaila	Higher mountains to the north of Chakrata.
(2) Śilāvaha	Lower Shiwaliks which are the source of the Thanesar-Sarasvatī.
(3) Aparaparvata	Small mountains or Shiwalik foothills near Panjaur.
(4) Sudāmā Parvata	Easily crossable hill of Panjaur.
Forests	
(1) Caitraratha	The Jaunsar-Bawar Forest Division known after Chakrata which was its central town.
(2) Bhāruṇḍa	The forest around Paonta known after its name; included the present Kalesar reserved forest also.
Rivers	
(1) Gaṅgā	The Ganges.
(2) Vāruṇī Kuliṅgā	Yamunā.
(3) Gaṅgā	A small tributary of the Thanesar Sarasvatī.
(4) Sarasvatī	Prācī Sarasvatī flowing by Thanesar city till very recently.

1	2
(5) Śaradaṇḍā	Sadadeni which joins the Markanda. Also called Sarasvatī.
(6) Āgneyī	Aruṇā or Run Cho which joins the Markanda-Sarasvatī.
(7) Ikṣumatī	Ghaggar or the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī.
(8) Śatadru	Sutlej in its old bed which ran just below Ludhiana.
Towns	
(1) Hastināpura	Hastināpura in Mawana tehsil, 22 miles north-east of Meerut.
(2) Amśudhāna	An unidentified town on the bank of Gaṇgā.
(3) Prāgvaṭa	An unidentified town on the bank of the Gaṅgā, about Rishikesh.
(4) Caitraratha	Chakrata. Name of the town as well as the forest around it.
(5) Bhāruṇḍā	Paonta. Name of the town as well as the forest around it.
(6) Kīramatsya	The ancient town of Kirmach to the south of Nilokheri on the western bank of the Sirsa branch of the western Jamuna canal.
(7) Puṣkarāvatī	Vilāsapura or Bilaspur situated 77° 18′ E by 30° 18′ N on the Mulana-Chachrauli Road not far from the Ambala-Jagadhri road.
(8) Śalyakarṣaṇa	Solakhni village situated 30° 20′ N by 77° 10′ E on the left bank of the Sadadeni, a mile above its confluence with the Markanda.
(9) Bhūliṅgā	Bunga village above Ramgarh not far from the western bank of the Tangri river. Capital of the Bhūliṅgas.
(10) Ajakūlā	Panchkula about 8 km. from Chandigarh, on the Ambala-Kalka road on the right bank of the Ghaggar.
(11) Capital of the Bodhis	Pañcapura or Panjaur 4 km. below Kalka on the Ambala-Kalka road to the right of the Ghaggar.

1	2
(12) Ailadhāna	Ludhiana on the left bank of the old Sutlej on the Ambala-Jullundur road.

We can now take up a reconstruction of the routes followed by the messengers and Bharata from Hastināpura to Kekaya and *vice versa* respectively. To be sure, such an exercise has been undertaken earlier by different scholars. *Difference of views in this connnection naturally arises on account of various geographical identifications accepted by them. In most of the cases we have already examined these identifications. Only some general remarks would Terefore be necessary here.*

The approach of the scholars to the question of identification of the data in question has often been influenced by adherence to a rigid position on the location of Kekaya and its capital Girivraja. If Cunningham's identification of this city with Girjhak near Jalalpur on the other side of the Jhelum[3] is accepted then the three great rivers of west Punjab, the Ravi, the Chenab and the Jhelum must fall on the route. Their importance immediately makes the absence of their names in the text unacceptable and it becomes imperative to recognise them in expressions which are obviously nothing but simple adjectives. In the result we are offered fanciful equations of Hrādinī meaning 'noisy' with Jhelum, of Dūrapārā meaning 'broad-channelled' with Chenab and of Pratyaksrotas meaning 'flowing westward' with Ravi.[4] Another scholar[5] takes Sudāmā meaning 'easy to cross' for Chenab, Hrādinī for Ravi and Dūrapārā for Beas with equal ease yet he does not hesitate to read Sudāmā as the name of a mountain on the route taken by the messengers. The fact that the expressions Hrādinī, Dūrapārā and Pratyaksrotas find no place in the journey of the messengers is conveniently ignored. Forgotten also is the fact that nowhere in the entire range of Sanskrit literature have these expressions been used to denote specifically these three rivers. As we have already shown elsewhere[6] Vālmīki has used them as pure and simple adjectives of the Śatadru in our text as indeed they have been generally used with other rivers in literature.[7]

Therefore we need not fight shy of the fact that Vālmīki fails to mention any Punjab rivers beyond the Beas. Even the Beas is not said to have been crossed by the messengers. They are said to have reached Girivraja the capital of the Kekayas while looking at the Beas and Śālmalī[8] which, most probably, was a sacred tree like the Nikūla.[9] Bharata's journey starts from Girivraja and Sutlej is the first river to be crossed by him. There is no mention of the Beas in his case. It would be illogical to suggest that Vālmīki was not familiar with the well known river-names Paruṣṇi or Irāvatī, Asiknī or Candrabhāgā and Vitastā. It is therefore difficult to avoid the inference that the Kekaya of Vālmīki lay between the rivers Sutlej and Beas.

In this situation Cunningham's identification of Girivraja with Girjhak on the Jhelum which has been generally accepted, deserves re-examination. The text certainly does not warrant the statement that the messengers crossed the Beas and then forded rivers Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum to reach Girivraja.

Now to define the route of the messengers in Kurukṣetra we have to begin from Hastināpura where they crossed the Gaṅgā and proceeded north-westward through north Pañcāla and Kurujāṅgala. They probably forded the Yamunā near the ancient town of Srughna, modern Sugh, which stands on the highway leading from the Gangetic Doab via Meerut-Saharanpur and Ambala to the upper Punjab and commanded the passage of the old Yamunā. This route was followed later by Mahmud of Ghazni on his way back from his expedition to Kannauj, by Timur returning from his plundering campaign at Haridwar and by Babar advancing to the conquest of Delhi.[10] The party moved on through Kurukṣetra to the Thanesar-Sarasvatī which they crossed soon after reaching the town of Bilaspur. This country was rich in lakes full of flowers and streams of pure water and they hastened, in view of the urgency of their mission, towards the Sadadeni which was running full and had to be crossed upstream in the territory of the Śaradaṇḍas. Moving along the foothills via Kala Amb and crossing minor hill torrents in their upper reaches the party stopped to pay homage to a holy Nikūla tree and then entered Bunga, the capital of the Bhūliṅgas. After fording the sacred Ghaggar, Sarasvatī opposite Ajakūlā or Panchkula they went through the Vālhīkas towards the small hill and to Pañjaur, the capital of the Bodhas. Further on they crossed the Sutlej at Rupar or more probably further upstream near Bhakra-Nangal. In his return journey from Kekaya, Bharata fords the Sutlej at Ludhiana, turns towards Panjaur hills, crosses the Aruṇā-Markanda at village Śalyakarṣaṇa or Solakhani, and the Thanesar-Sarasvatī below its confluence with a stream called Gaṅgā. All these crossings were made in the plains. But the Yamunā had to be forded upstream in the hills near Bhāruṇḍa or Paonta. He probably then went to the Gaṅgā via Dehradun and crossed it at Prāgvata somewhere near Rishikesha because it was unfordable downstream near Amśudhāna.

A comparison of the two routes followed by the messengers and Bharata gives rise to some interesting observations. The journeys were made about the month of Caitra[11] or March-April. Probably the messengers went to Kekaya around the end of March or beginning of April and Bharata undertook the return journey around the end of April or beginning of May. Urgency of the situation demanded fast movement and the text specifically says so.[12] The messengers being a small group could afford to take a shorter, although more difficult, route along the foothills to save time. The major perennial rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā were running low and they crossed them in the plains near Hastināpura and Srughna respectively. But the Sadadeni-Markanda and the Ghaggar, which can swell suddenly on heavy rain in the hills even now, were apparently running full and had to be forded upstream close to the foothills. Significantly the Sadadeni has been described as full of water (Jalākulā).[13] The Sutlej fails to find a mention in case of the messengers.

Bharata was moving with a sizeable force[14] which is expected to stick to the plains unless forced to take to the foothills. He fords the Sutlej and the Aruṇā-Markanda in the plains. In case of the former the depth of water and force of the current was verified before attempting the crossing.[15] Such an exercise was in all probability undertaken as a routine precaution in case of big rivers unless rendered unnecessary by readily available information. Vālmīki takes care to describe the Sutlej as 'Sudāmā' or 'easily fordable'.[16] Meanwhile the snows were starting to melt and Bharata was obliged to cross the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā in their upper reaches at Paonta and Prāgvaṭa respectively. The poet finds it necessary to mention that the force was given rest[17] after the tedious Yamunā-crossing and that the Gaṅgā was unfordable at Amśudhāna in the plains.[18]

Evidently there were two routes between the Gaṅgā and the Beas in regular use at the time. One ran through the hills or sticking very close to the hills and touched the important towns or capitals of the states of the Śālva group of tribes including the Yugandharas, Śaradaṇḍas, Bhūliṅgas, Bodhas and Bhadrakāras. Naturally being more hazardous it was adopted usually by small parties when the rivers were not easily fordable in the plains. The other route ran almost parallel to the Meerut-Jagadhri-Ambala-Panchkula-Ludhiana road and was used by big convoys in normal conditions. It passed through Srughna and was possibly the same route which was commonly known as 'Sraughnaḥ Panthāh'[19] after this important town.

Vālmīki's knowledge of the Kurukṣetra region was surprisingly intimate. He gives us geographical names which later on lost their importance and went completely out of circulation during the long span of 2500 years. And yet his description is so accurate that anybody familiar with the region would hardly fail to spot them in a careful study. It presents indeed a fascinating picture of linguistic evolution of geographical names and of the ups and downs in the fortunes of the rivers, forests, hills, towns, states and tribes which they signify.

Of special significance are the identifications of the forests, Caitraratha, and Bhāruṇḍa, regions and tribes Kurujāṅgalās, Kīramatsyas, Śaradaṇḍas, Bhūliṅgas and Bodhas, rivers Vāruṇī or Kuliṅgā, Śaradaṇḍā, Āgneyī and Ikṣumatī-Sarasvatī and the towns Kīramatsya, Puṣkarāvatī-Śalyakarṣaṇa, Bhūliṅgā, Ajakūlā, Panjaur as capital of the Bodhas and Ailadhāna. The journey of the name Sarasvatī from Ghaggar to Śaradaṇḍā-Aruṇā-Markanda as a result of some serious tectonic-seismic upheaval provides a new piece of evidence in support of the story of the

Pralaya while the identification of Ailadhāna with Ludhiana sets the seal of authenticity on the historicity of the legendary King Purūravā and strengthens the location of his capital Pratiṣṭhāna somewhere near the Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra.[20]

In respect of information on historical geography, Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana* is the watershed between the Vedic literature on the one side and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and later classical literature on the other. It stands unique in its knowledge of the original Ṛgvedic Ghaggar-Sarasvatī, post-deluge Markanda-Sarasvatī and the present Thanesar-Sarasvatī. By the time of the Mahābhārata the last named succeeds in completely appropriating the position of the original mother-river, as the location of the tīrthas clearly shows. There is no mention of the Ikṣumatī-Sarasvatī although the intervening phase of the Markanda-Sarasvatī can still be recognised in expressions like 'Sarasvatī's own form' (स्वां तनूम्)[21] and Aruṇā-Sarasvatī[22] for the Aruṇā.

In sum, the importance of such material for reconstruction of regional history can hardly be over-emphasised.

Notes and References

1. (i) 'The Identification of Ludhiana on the basis of the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, *Purāṇa*, Vol. xvii, No. 2, July 1975, pp. 106-117.
   (ii) 'From the Sutlej to the Gaṅgā with Vālmīki', *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. xiv, ii, Sept. 1976, p. 192-206.
   (iii) 'Gaṅgā to Ghaggar with Vālmīki', *VIJ*. Vol. XVII (1979), pp. 142-167.
2. Critical Ed. P.L. Vaidya, Oriental Inst. Baroda, 1962, Vol. II, Ayodhyā, 62, 10ff. and 65.1ff.
3. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (*A.G.I.*), Ed. S.N. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1924, p. 685.
4. Anundoram Borooah, *Ancient Geography of India*, Gauhati, 1971, pp. 16ff.
5. D.K. Gupta, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, Patiala, 1976, p. 170.
6. *Purāṇa*, Vol. xvii, No. 2, p. 113.
7. Vālmīki himself uses ह्लादिनी as an adjective of Yamunā in II, 65, 6; for दूरपारा m.n. see *Mbh*. 1.150.6 : अशक्तश्चापि संतीर्य दूरपारंभुजप्लवैः :...For प्रत्यक् स्रोत: again see *Rām*, iv. 42.8 : तथा केतकखण्डांश्चमार्गध्वं हरिपुंगवा: । प्रत्यक्स्रोतोवहाश्चैवनद्य: शीतजला: शिवा: ।।

   दूरपारा has been used as adj. of the Gaṅgā, see Monier Williams, *Skt.-Eng. Dic.*, p. 48 and for प्रत्यक् स्रोत: as an epithet of the Narmadā see V.S. Apte, *Practical Skt.-Eng. Dic.*, p. 655.

8. II. 62.13......विष्णो: पदं प्रेक्षमाणा: विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् ॥
9. II.62.12 : निकूलवृक्षमासाद्य दिव्यं सत्योपयाचनम् ।.........
10. *A.G.I.* p. 398.
11. Soon after the decision regarding Rāma's coronation was taken. *Rām* II. 3.4 :

    चैत्र: श्रीमानयंमास: पुण्य: पुष्पितकानन: ।
    यौवराज्याय रामस्य सर्वमेवोपकल्प्यताम् ॥

12. II. 62.10 B (1587) :... ...निरीक्षमाणा: जग्मुस्ते दूता: कार्यदशाद् द्रुतम् ॥
13. II. 62.11......उपातिजग्मुर्वेगेन शरदण्डाम् जलाकुलाम् ।
14. Vide II, 65.6 :......बलमाश्वासयत्तदा 11 and 10 : सबलस्तां सतीर्त्वाथ...
15. II. 65. 1 : ......तत: सुदामांद्युतिमान् सन्तीर्याविक्ष्य तां नदीम् ॥
16. *Ibid.*
17. II. 65.6........यमुनां प्राप्यसन्तर्णो बलमाश्वासयत्तदा ॥
18. II. 65.9 : भागीरथीं दुष्प्रतरांसोऽशुधाने महानदीम् । उपायाद्राधवस्तूर्णम् प्राग्वटे विश्रुतेपुरे ।
19. *cf*: Illustration in the *Kāśikā* on iv. 3.85 : स्रुघ्नं गच्छतिस्रौघ्न: पन्था: दूतो वा ।
20. *cf.* Jaichandra Vidyalankar, *Bharatiya Samskriti Ka Ka-Kha*, Allahabad, 1955, p. 49.
21. *Śalya*, 43, 30.
22. *Ibid.*, 5, 51.

11

Identification of the Vedic Site Karoti

Kārotī appears in the age of the Brāhmaṇas as a seat of the fire-cult par excellence.[1] In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (IX. 5. 2. 15)[2] Śāṇḍilya, the principal authority on the building of altars for the sacred fires[3] describes it as the place[4] where Tura Kāvaṣeya made a fire-altar for the gods.

Tura was the priest of Pārīkṣita Janamejaya, a great conqueror and performer of horse-sacrifices whom he anointed with Aindra Mahābhiṣeka.[5] In the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[6] this Janamejaya is identified with the grandson of Abhimanyu and stated to have performed the great Snake-sacrifice to avenge the death of his father Parīkṣita as a result of snake-bite at the hands of Takṣaka.

It is, however, possible that Janamejaya, the patron of sage Tura was an earlier ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas. He appears as an ancient sage in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (Kāṇva recension, VI. 5.4) and the *Khila*[7] and is probably identical with Tura described as the Devamuni, or saint of gods, in the *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa* (XXV. 14.4).[8] In the *vaṁśa* or line of succession of teachers who had known the *Aśvamedha*, given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (X. 6.5.9), Tura Kāvaṣeya is said to have received it from Prajāpati who had, in his turn, received it directly from the self-existent *Brahman.* Oldenberg is therefore right in assigning him to the end of the Vedic period.[9]

His ancestor Kavaṣa was the author of several hymns of the *Ṛgveda,* according to the *Anukramaṇi,* including two (X. 32 and 33) that deal with a Prince Kuruśravaṇa and his descendant Upamaśravas.[10] Originally probably a non-Brahmin or non-believer in the hieratic Brāhmaṇic religion, according to V.G. Rahurkar[11] he was possibly a priest of tribes antagonistic to Sudas and Indra. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (II. 19) gives the following episode involving him.

"The Ṛṣis, when once holding a sacrificial session on the (banks of) Sarasvatī, expelled Kavaṣa, the son of Ilūṣa from (their) Soma sacrifice, saying : How should the son of a slave girl, a gamester, who is no Brahmin, remain among us and become initiated (into all sacrificial rites)? They turned him out (of the place) into a desert, saying that he should die of thirst, and not drink the water of Sarasvatī. After having been driven (from this place) into a desert, he, being vexed by thirst, saw (the *mantra* called), Aponaptrīyam : *pra devatrā brahmaṇe gatur etu etc.*, *i.e.*, may there be a way leading to the gods for the *Brahman* (may he be received among them). By this means he obtained the favour of the waters. They went out (of their house) to (meet) him. Sarasvatī surrounded him on all sides. Therefore, that place is called Parisaraka (from *enaṁ—kavaṣaṁ parisasāra*). As Sarasvatī had surrounded him on all sides, the Ṛṣis said, "The gods know him; let us call him back. All consented and called him back......".[12]

A similar story is reported in the *Kauśītakī-Brāhmaṇa* (XII. 3)

Kavaṣa, the ancestor of Tura, and undoubtedly his family, were thus connected with Sarasvatī—especially its lower region near the desert where it was lost in the sands around Vinaśana, in the age of the Brāhmaṇas when the cult of sacrifice was in its prime. Janamejaya Parīkṣita, patron of Tura, was undoubtedly ruling over Kurukṣetra as an old *gāthā* (stanza) reported in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 21) says that he bound a horse which was eating grain, adorned with a mark on its forehead, and with yellow flower-garlands, which was walking over the best (fields full of fodder), for the gods at Āsandīvat or the present town of Asandh in Karnal District.[13]

On these facts, Kārotī should be situated in the lower part of Kurukṣetra. And it is precisely here, on the southern or left side of the old Dṛṣadvatī bed about 1½ kms. to the south-east of Diplana Railway Station on the Hanumangarh-Sadulpur branch of the Northern Railway, that we find the impressive mound of the site which is still known by its original name Kārotī. The habitation is a small village of about 237 souls[14] situated 29° 10′N by 74° 50′E.[15] The mound covers about 200 *bīghas* (50 acres) of land and is about four meters in height, located 12 kms. to the east of Nohar by crow-flight and about 5 kms. to the south-east of the well-known pre-historic site of Sothī[16] in a region which is known for the abundance of pre-historic and proto-historic sites.[17]

The site was explored by Devendra Handa with a group of five others on the 29th of August, 1971 and the account of their findings was published by him in the Hindi Journal *Maru Śrī*.[18] According to Handa the site holds great promise for excavation, and archaeological material of pre-historic, early historic and medieval ages has been found here. Remains of Sothi as pre-Harappan and Harappan material include pottery in various designs, terracotta cakes, terracotta animal figurines, shell-bangle pieces, sling-balls and a 4×2.75" human head with big eyes, pressed cheeks, flat nose open mouth and chinless lower lip made of red

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sand stone.[19] The style of clay figurines of birds and animals suggests that the eyes were fixed later and holes were made in the eyes, nose, ears, *etc.*, as was the practice in Kulli culture.[20]

Remains of early historic period were noticed in abundance. Out of these plain and black or chocolate painted red ware, pottery pieces carrying lines, dotted and stamped designs, pieces of thick hand-made storage pottery, pieces of potters' dabbers, clay beads and balls of different sizes, shell and glass bangle-pieces, clay animal figurines decked with ornaments, a broken stone piece with engraved lotus motif, some pottery pieces in Raṅgamahal style and baked bricks of 9×13½×2″ and 8½×12¾×1½″ sizes are worth mentioning. These early historic remains relate to the first four-five centuries of the Christian era.[21] A copper spoon-handle, a copper coin, a clay horse figurine, a small statuette in black stone with its head, one hand and both legs missing, a piece of black polished pottery, clay beads, *etc.*, probably belonging to the medieval period, were also found.[22]

The mound of Kārotī is thus likely to contain evidence of its continuous occupation from the pre-Harappan times and to strengthen the equation of the Harappan culture with the age of the Brāhmaṇas as indicated by the discovery of fire-altars at Kalibangan[23] and Rakhi Garhi.[24] As at Kārotī Pre-historic archaeological material including earthen pottery pieces and clay animal figurines has been recovered from old mounds around Nohar which too, like Kalibangan, appears to have a direct relation with the Sothi and Harappan culture.[25]

Kalibangan has been identified with Vinaśana[26] which has been specifically named in the Brāhmaṇas[27] and Śrauta-sūtras[28] as the place for consecration (*dīkṣā*) for the *Sārasvata* and *Dārṣadvata* sacrificial sessions which were to be performed while moving upstream along the river. In case of the *Sārasvata-Sattra*, the Yajamāna moved along the eastern bank of the Sarasvatī towards its source at Plakṣaprāsravaṇa where the session was supposed to end following the *Avabhṛtha* or the lustral bath in the Yamunā. En route to the river's confluence with the Dṛṣadvatī one crossed the latter to regain the eastern bank of the Sarasvatī for resuming one's advance upstream. Likewise, for the *Dārṣadvata* sacrificial session one was required to follow upstream from the point of the confluence the eastern bank of the Dṛṣadvatī and ultimately to terminate the session after a lustral bath at Triplakṣāvaharaṇa on the Yamunā. It is quite probable that during the Brāhmaṇa age the pre-historic sites of Nohar, Kārotī, Sothi, Siswal and Rakhi Garhi were the sacrificial centres, where the performers of *Dārṣadvata-Sattras* stopped in their march upstream along the Dṛṣadvatī. This conclusion finds support from the clear reference in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* to Kārotī as a seat for sacrifices as well as from the discovery of fire-altars from Harappan level at Kalibangan and Rakhi Garhi. Proof of the prevalence of the cult of sacrifice in the Harappan age is indeed coming from sites as distant as Nawada Todi and Dangawada in Madhya Pradesh where *Yajñaśālās* and house-temples have been discovered along with evidence of the knowledge of Harappan script and economic connections with distant coastal Harappan settlements.[29]

It is time that the Archaeological Survey of India undertook excavations at well-known Vedic sites to explore the possibility of an equation between the cultural ages represented by the so-called pre-historic sites and different classes of Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit literature instead of adding to what can be labelled only in terms of pre-Harappan, Harappan and post-Harappan.

Known Vedic sites in Haryana like Mānuṣa,[30] Kapiṣṭhala,[31] Āsandīvat[32] and Kārotī have been ignored long enough and may soon lose whatever little is still left ni the name of evidence of their antiquity.

Notes and References

1. Keith and Macdonell, *Vedic Index* Vol. I, (*VI*, I), p. 151.
2. अथ ह स्माह शाण्डिल्यः । तुरो ह कावषेयः कारोत्यां देवेभ्योऽग्नि चिकाय ।
3. Albrecht Weber, *The History of Indian Literature*, 7th edn., (Varanasi, 1974), p. 120.
4. The reference cannot be to a river since Kārotī is nowhere mentioned among rivers of Kurukṣetra which have been described in detail at many places in literature.
5. *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 21.
6. Gita Press edn., IX. 22.36.
7. *VI*, I, p. 314.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *VI*, I, p. 143.
11. *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*, (Poona, 1964), pp. 247-48.
12. For English Translation see Haug Martin, *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇam of Ṛgveda*, Vol. II, reprint edn., Varanasi, 1977.
13. Devendra Handa, "Identification of Āsandīvat", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* (*VIJ*), Vol. III. Pt. ii, (Sept. 1965), pp. 278-81.
14. *Census of India 1971*, *Supplement to Adm. Atlas*, (Rajasthan, 1976), p. 14. By now it may have increased by about 25%.
15. *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*, Vol. I, (Delhi 1950), p. 596.
16. Devendra Handa, "Kārotī kī Khoj", *Maru Śrī*, Pt. I, No. 1, (Oct-Dec. 1971 pp. 10-16), p. 10.
17. See Ghosh, A., *Explorations in Bikaner*, *East and West*, Vol. iv, No. 1 (Apr. 1953), pp. 31-34.

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18. See his two articles "Kārotī kī Khoj" in its Pt. I, No. 1 (Oct.-Dec., 1971), pp. 10-16 and Pt. I, No. 3 (Apr.-June, 1972), pp. 25-30. Shri Handa, was kind enough to lend his copies to the present writer.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Handa, *Maru Śrī*, Pt. I, No. 3, pp. 27-28.
21. Handa, *Maru Śrī*, Pt. I, No. 1, p. 14.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 16, n. 9.
23. Lal, B.B. and Thapar, B. K., *Cultural Forum 34*, Vol. IX, No. 4, (July, 1967), pp. 78-88; Lal, B.B., *Kalibangan's Contribution to the Understanding of the Indus Civilization*, (I.I.A.S., Simla, Nov. 1977), pp. 2-7; and Lal, B.B., in *Essays in Indian Proto-history* ed. Agrawal and Chakravarti, (Delhi 1979), pp. 65-97.
24. Suraj Bhan, *Excavation at Mitathal*, (Kurukṣetra, 1975), p. 96. Fire-altars might have gone unnoticed at other sites. They can be easily confused with flooring of a room. Even at Rakhi Garhi they were detected by B.B. Lal on a chance visit.
25. Handa, *Maru Śrī*, Pt. I, No. I, p. 16, n. 6.
26. Bharadwaj, O.P., "Vinaśana", paper presented at the Shantiniketan (November, 1980) session of the A.I.O.C.
27. *e.g. Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, XXV. 10.
28. *e.g. Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, XXIV. 5.30 and *Aśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* ,VI. 6.1.
29. Wakankar, V.S., "Archaeology in Madhya Pradesh", *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Vol. CII 26, (Aug. 30-Sept. 5, 1981), pp. 32-37. Fire-altars were discovered at Lothal also.
30. Now the village called Manas situated 3½ miles north-west of Kaithal in Kurukṣetra.
31. The modern town of Kaithal situated 29° 48′ N and 76° 24′ E in Kurukṣetra, See Raghu Vira, *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhitā*, (Lahore 1932), Intro. pp. 1-2.
32. Identified with the town of Asandh in Karnal District. See fn. 12 *Supra.*

12

Janamejaya Pariksita and two Ancient Traditions of Kuruksetra

In his monumental work on the 'Legends of the Punjab'[1] Captain R.C. Temple has recorded two old traditions bearing on the history of the Pāṇḍava king Parīkṣit and his son Janamejaya who is well-known for the snake-sacrifice performed as a reprisal for the former's death by snake-bite at the hands of Takṣaka. During their long life these traditions naturally imbibed the social and religious elements connected with the classes who adopted and preserved them. This will be apparent from the inclusion of medieval saints, characters out of lower castes and even Muslim gods and scriptures in the narrative. But the substance of the story has managed to survive with a fair amount of accuracy.

The first tradition has been related by Temple as the 'Legend of Safidon',[2] as it was current in the town of Safidon[3] in district Jind now in Haryana. It carries us only as far as the abduction of a Nāga princess by the Pāṇḍava king Parīkṣit, grandson of Arjuna and son of Abhimanyu. To reproduce the story briefly the town of Safidon, also variously called Safidam, Safidan and Saphidan[4] (a corruption of its Sanskrit original Sarpadevī,[5] Sarpirdadhi[6] or Sarpadamana[7]), was founded by the Pāṇḍavas and contained three large closed-up wells respectively holding amṛta, snakes and locusts. Raja Bāsak (Vāsuki) of the Nāgas suffered from leprosy, as a result of the curse of a cow bitten by a snake. He could be cured only with the amṛta from the well at Safidon which lay in the kingdom of Parīkṣit. The well was covered with heavy stones which could be lifted with the help of magic only by Bāsak's daughter Niwal Dai,[8] who was once betrothed to Parīkṣit, although the match was later broken off by Bāsak. Disregarding the danger of being caught, Niwal Dai insisted on providing amṛta for curing her father's leprosy and visited the well in Safidon. As Khvājā Khizar, the god of water, wanted to see her, he made the water level in the well too low to be reached by Niwal Dai. The princess then looked into the well and showed herself to water which at once rose up to the brim with such a noise that the Pāṇḍavas detected her presence at the well and came running to seize her but she transformed herself into a Nāga (snake) and entered into the brick platform around the mouth of the well and came out only after the Pāṇḍava raja had sworn not to touch her.

The beauty of Niwal Dai however proved too dazzling for the raja, who refused to let her return to Bāsak on the plea that she had been earlier betrothed to him. Niwal Dai then promised to return to him after conveying amṛta for treatment of raja Bāsak and was permitted to leave. She took the amṛta to her father and poured it on him excepting his thumb over which she placed her kerchief. As a result every part of Bāsak's body was cured of leprosy barring his thumb. Niwal Dai offered to fetch more amṛta from the well and ignoring the wish of Bāsak went off again. As soon as she arrived at the well she was seized by Parīkṣit who married her and took her to his palace. Raja Bāsak's thumb remained afflicted with leprosy which explains the presence of the disease in the Punjab even now.

The second tradition was recorded by Temple[9] from village Babyal near Ambala where it was sung by two scavengers in the form of poetic prose or free verse as the story of princess Niwal Dai. This legend covers the whole ground from the abduction of Niwal Dai, the daughter of raja Bāsak, the Nāga monarch, by the Pāṇḍava king Parīkṣit of Hastinapura and the consequent murder of Parīkṣit by Bāsak's emissaries to the final destruction of the Nāgas by Parīkṣit's son Janamejaya in revenge for his father's death.

According to this legend raja Bāsak (Vāsuki) father of princess Niwal Dai, once went out for hunting from his kingdom in Dhartmandal. He entered the kingdom of the Pāṇḍava prince Pārag (Parīkṣit) and killed a deer and started cooking its flesh for preparing a meal. The smoke from the fire attracted the attention of raja Pārag who was watching from his palace roof. Pārag rushed to the forest and arrested Bāsak for encroaching upon his hunting grounds. Bāsak prayed for his life and promised never to come again but Pārag allowed him to go only after extracting an oath that he would give him his daughter in marriage. Pārag then collected his people from Srinagal[10] (his capital) and told them about this incident.

Raja Bāsak also informed his people of the incident and disregarding the entreaties of his queen started thinking of some measure to counteract the sin of breaking his oath since he was not willing to marry his daughter to Pārag. His priest needed yak's milk for performing a sacrifice to counteract the effect of breaking the oath. The milk was brought but the priest would not take it as the girl who was deprived of her share in this milk would curse him. On this Bāsak became fierce and taking the form of a snake bit the yaks with his fangs. In retaliation he was cursed by the maidens who subsisted on the milk of these animals and was as a result, afflicted by leprosy which could be cured only with the water of a golden well of the Pāṇḍavas in the city of Safidon if it was brought by a maiden of twelve years. Bāsak's young daughter Niwal Dai then insisted to bring the water and in spite of his protests she came to the well. As she lowered the bucket in the well the water went too low for the rope. Niwal Dai had to tie her kerchief on the rope and look into the well so that Khwājā Khizar sent up the water bubbling to have a sight of the princess. Meanwhile a falcon watching over the well informed raja Pārag who rushed to the well. On seeing him Niwal Dai took the form of a Nagin and concealed herself in the platform. When Pārag threatened to put on a scorpion's form to drag her out she was frightened and took the human form. Pārag would not let her go as her father had deceived him and broken the oath of giving her to him in marriage. Niwal Dai then promised to return to Pārag and was allowed to take a pitcher of water to her father. Niwal Dai bathed her father in the water but covered his great toe so that all his body excepting this toe was cured of leprosy and became golden in colour. Under the pretext of bringing more water for the toe, Niwal Dai returned to the well and was married by Pārag.

This enraged Bāsak and he collected his best warriers and kinsmen from distant places several of whom made successive attempts on the life of Pārag, who was however, lucky to survive each time. Jādo, the ambassador of Bāsak then invaded Pārag's kingdom with the Nāga army. Pārag conferred with his people including his ministers Mali and Subhan Khan. Niwal Dai advised him to construct a glass palace with a wide ditch and a wall of needles around it which should be sprinkled with water and salt. This was done, and saved Pārag for the time being. But then Bāsak was advised to summon his nephew (sister's son) Tātig[11] Nāga (Takṣaka Nāga) from Gokal Nagri where he was reading the books of the wisdom of the Kuran. Tātig took the form of a little Nāga and came flying to Dhartmandal. He was given the assignment. Tātig remembered Machhander Nath and Gorakh Nath and flew to Safidon. He prayed for rain and when it began to pour he became a fish and went up into the palace by way of the roof-sprout and concealed himself in a window. In the middle of the night, when everyone was asleep, he bit raja Pārag and quietly slipped away. Niwal Dai got up and finding the Raja dead, sent messengers to bring his Guru Dhanvantar the leech from the Abu forest. Tātig, however, heard this and reached Abu and lay in the form of a golden staff on the route by which Dhanvantar Baid came. The Baid picked up the staff and placed it around his neck on which Tātig immediately bit him. Dhanvantar then asked his disciples to bring the Sajun Rakhi (life giving herb) from mount Meru where it could be found near a lamp burning under a tree. Tātig, however, preceded

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them to Meru and lighted thousands of lamps so that the disciples could not trace the herb and reported back to Dhanvantar who declared that he would not be saved now and that they should cook his flesh and eat him which will turn them all into Dhanvantar Baids. Tātig, however, heard this also and incited the villagers that some robbers were cutting up peoples' flesh and eating it. The people attacked the disciples who ran away leaving Dhanvantar's flesh to crows and kites.

All attempts to save Pārag having failed the raja was cremated by his kinsfolk. Rani Niwal Dai was then four months' pregnant and in due course a son was born to her and named Janameji. When the prince grew up he learnt from his mother how his father Pārag and his Guru Dhanvantar were killed by the Nāgas and decided to avenge their murders. He resorted to treachery and invited his grandfather raja Bāsak to visit him with all the eight Nāga families. Bāsak was taken in and sent his ambassador Jādo to Safidon with a large retinue loaded with gifts and presents. When this army entered the palace raja Pārag locked them inside and threw them in a couldron of boiling oil. Jādo ambassador escaped with half a family and Pārag pursued him to Dhartmandal after promising to his mother that he would spare the life of his grandfather. Learning the whereabouts of Tātig from raja Bāsak Janameji went to Gokal city and caught hold of Tātig in the pedagogue's school where he was studying the Kuran. Tātig prayed to Śiva, Machhander Nath and Gorakh Nath to save his life and taking the form of a flying Nāga took shelter, first with Gorakh then with Śiva and finally in Indrapuri but Janameji relentlessly pursued him at each place. Ultimately Tātig was surrendered to Janameji by the Holy God on the condition that his life would be spared. Janameji brought him to Dhartmandal and took him to Safidon city where a couldron of boiling oil was prepared. Raja Janameji however spared the life of Tātig Naga and only plunged his tale into the boiling oil to brand him before he was allowed to go.

Tātig then went to his uncle raja Bāsak in Dhartmandal and learnt that only two and a half families had escaped the wrath of Janameji. Tātig told him that he himself had escaped by the mediation of the Holy Kṛṣṇa.

The snake-sacrifice episode has been described briefly in the Purāṇas[12] and related in detail in the Mahābhārata.[13] While once hunting in the forest Parīkṣit felt tired and thirsty and in search of water entered the hermitage of sage Śamīka The sage was engaged in meditation and did not respond to the king's request for water. Mistaking his silence for haughtiness Parīkṣit placed in anger a dead snake around his neck and went away. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, the young son of the sage, learnt about this while playing with other boys and immediately pronounced a curse on Parīkṣit as a result of which the king was bitten to death by the snake Takṣaka who had prevailed on the brāhmaṇa Kaśyapa not to save him. Parīkṣit's son Janamejaya, therefore, determined to avenge his father's death by performing a snake-sacrifice in which innumerable snakes perished. Takṣaka was however, saved by the intervention of Āstīka who appeared at the sacrifice as a brāhmaṇa and sought a boon from Janamejaya that the sacrifice should be discontinued. The king obliged and the snakes were saved from utter destruction.

According to the Mahābhārata[14] Janamejaya had conquered Takṣaśilā and the snake-sacrifice was performed there.[15] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa places the Śamīka incident near the Prācī Sarasvatī,[16] the cursing of Parīkṣit by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga in the same region albeit on the bank of the Kauśikī[17] and the death of Parīkṣit on the holy Gaṅgā.[18] It does not clearly state as to where the sacrifice was performed. The Bhāgavata[19] also credits Bṛhaspati, the son of Angirā, with persuading Janamejaya to stop the sacrifice instead of Āstīka,[20] the son of Vāsuki's sister Jaratkāru.

A comparative analysis of these two traditions—one available in folklore and the other preserved in literary sources—leads to interesting observations. While both agree on the death of Parīkṣit at the hands of Takṣaka Nāga and the ultimate large-scale destruction of the Nāgas by his son Janamejaya there are some important points of difference between them. Firstly the root cause of Parīkṣit's death is the curse of a young sage in one and the abduction of a Nāga princess in the other. Secondly while the literary sources describe the conflict of Parīkṣit and Janamejaya with snakes who had the faculty of assuming human form on need the local tradition depicts their enemies as primarily a tribe of human beings called the Nāgas possessing the power of changing themselves into snakes whenever necessary. Finally the main literary source, the Mahābhārata mentions Takṣaśilā as the venue of the snake-sacrifice against which the oral tradition places it at Safidon or Sarapadevī.

Now it can be conceded immediately that the version from literary sources is thickly covered with a strong layer of mythology while the oral tradition, even while being so, looks more realistic as far as the genesis of the conflict and the presentation of the Nāgas as a tribe is concerned. In this connection Pargiter's view[21] that the Nāgas[22] had slain Parikṣit II and his son Janamejaya III defeated them and made peace with them would seem to be reasonable although it has yet to gain general acceptance.

The question of the venue of the snake-sacrifice is not so easy to resolve. As already mentioned the Mahābhārata categorically says that Janamejaya conquered Takṣaśilā, performed the snake-sacrifice there, sometimes held his court there and even the Mahābhārata was related to him there by Vaiśampāyana.[23] Although H.C. Raychaudhuri[24] and Asim Kumar Chatterjee[25] accept this statement of the Epic and credit Janamejaya with control over an extensive empire including the

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extreme northwestern part of the country beyond Taxila it is difficult to take it without a pinch of salt.

Janamejaya has, of course, been described as a great military conqueror. He is credited with the performance of the great horse sacrifice in celebration of his universal conquest as recorded in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[26] After his triumphant campaigns he was consecrated with the Pūrṇa and Aindra Mahābhiṣekas and performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices, one according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[27] with Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka as his chief priest and the other according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with Tura Kāvaṣeya,[28] both at his capital Āsandīvat which has been rightly identified with Asandh.[29] Even if these references in the Brāhmaṇas are taken to refer to another Janamejaya, an ancestor of the Kurus[30] there is material in the Epic and Purāṇas pointing to similar achievements by our Janamejaya Pārikṣit. The Mahābhārata[31] refers to the performance of a long duration sacrifice (dīrghasatra) by him and his brothers in Kurukṣetra while the Purāṇas[32] mention his horse sacrifice at Hastināpura apart from his snake-sacrifice. The Matsya Purāṇa[33] actually attributes to him two horse-sacrifices while the Bhāgavata Purāṇa[34] describes him as a world-conqueror.

It is however, particularly noteworthy in all this that the Mahābhārata stands alone in recording the conquest of Takṣaśilā by Janamejaya and his performance of the Sarpasatra there. In doing so not only does it run counter to the local tradition but also contradicts its own statement which testifies to the existence of a tīrtha called Sarpadevī where the goddess of snakes is established who grants the merit of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice to her visitors.[35] The same tīrtha is called Sarpirdadhi and associated with the Nāgas in the Vāmana Purāṇa[36] and identified with the town of Safidon which figures as the venue of the snake-sacrifice in the folk tradition. That Sarpadevī or Safidon would be the proper site for any event relating to the Nāgas as against Takṣaśilā becomes obvious when the Epic itself speaks of Takṣaka as belonging to Kurukṣetra, first living in the Khāṇḍava forest[37] and later again near the Sarasvatī.[38] It also agrees with the presence of Parīkṣit near the Prācī Sarasvatī and the pronouncement of the curse by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga with the water of the Kauśikī which was a tributary of the Dṛṣadvatī.[39] These considerations exclude the possibility of any conflict between Janamejaya and the Nāgas around Takṣaśilā and the consequent performance of the Sarpasatra there.

Why does the Mahābhārata then involve Takṣaśilā in its account of Janamejaya and his Sarpasatra ? The reason is not difficult to explain. Takṣaśilā is a town of great antiquity and according to Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa[40] it was founded by Bharata, Rāma's younger brother. It was known to Pāṇini[41] and finds mention in Buddhist literature also and was undoubtedly a flourishing city by the time the Great Epic was composed and acquired its final shape. Most probably the commonness of the first half in the name of Takṣaśilā and the name of the Nāga chief Takṣaka misled the poet to think of a connection between the two and he could not resist the temptation of inventing a situation which did not appear to him too absurd once the idea was born. This conclusion is strengthened from the fact that Takṣaśilā is the only place noted by the Epic in connection with the conquests of Janamejaya. No other names of towns, kings, tribes or republics between Hastināpura and Takṣaśilā have been recorded as one should normally expect in a work that is not at all miserly in giving such details in case of its various digvijaya accounts. In the circumstances we are inclined to believe that Takṣaśilā did not in reality, form a part of the kingdom of Janamejaya Pārikṣita and its association with him is born out of poetic fancy, abetted by a confusion of his identity with an illustrious ancestor who happened to be his namesake.

The Nāga tribe of Takṣaka was possibly occupying some part of Khāṇḍava forest when the Pāṇḍavas first moved into it and built their capital city of Khāṇḍavaprastha which was later also called Indraprastha. The tribe probably again raised its head after the calamitous Kurukṣetra war in the belief that the Pāṇḍavas had grown weak enough to be successfully defied and expelled from their land. In a sudden uprising they apparently ambushed and murdered Parīkṣit which led to their large-scale destruction in a terrible reprisal by his son Janamejaya.

Notes and References

1. In Three Volumes (Reprint, Patiala 1962).
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 414-417.
3. Situated 29°-25′N—76°-40′E. 32 miles south-west of Karnal.
4. Temple, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 414.
5. *Mbh.* (Gita Press) Vana, 83.14-15.
6. *Vāmanapurāṇa* Kashiraj Trust (Cr. ed.) Sm. 13.23; *Padmapurāṇa* gives the name as Sarpinadi (iii. 12.13.).
7. This form is given by the more learned natives of Safidon, see Temple, *op. cit.*, p. 414.
8. Her equation with Vāsuki's sister Jaratkāru by Temple is not very apt. See Temple, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 418-528.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 424 and 426, considers it a place-name. We are however, of the view that it is the corrupt form of Skt. *Śrīnagara*-meaning the king's capital because while the reference on p. 424 connects it with Pārag that on p. 426 associates it with Bāsak.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 494 erroneously identifies him with Āstīka son of Jaratkāru.
12. Bhāgavata, (Gita Press), p. xii. 6.

13. *Mbh.*, *Ādi*, 50-60.
14. *Ādi*, 3.20 and 172.
15. *Svargārohaṇa*, 5.31-34.
16. *Ibid.*, i. 16.36.
17. *Ibid.*, i.18.37.
18. *Ibid.*, i.19.5.
19. *Ibid.*, xii.6.2.
20. *Ibid.*, Ādi. 56.21-26.
21. See *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (Reprint Delhi 1972) p. 285.
22. The existence of the Nāgas as an important tribe cannot be doubted. On 'The Nāgas in Indian History and Culture, see T.V. Mahalingam's, paper in the *Journal of Indian History* xLiii, pt. i., April, 1965, pp. 1-71.
23. *Svargārohaṇa*, 5.35.
24. *Political History of Ancient India*, (7th ed. Calcutta 1972) p. 34.
25. *Political History of Pre-Buddhist India* (Calcutta 1930). p. 164f.
26. viii. 21.
27. xiii. 5.4.1-2.
28. viii. 21.
29. Situated 29°.32'N-76°.35'E, about 32 kms. south-west of Karnal.
30. See Devendra Handa *V.I.J.* Vol. III, pt. i, Sept. 65, pp. 278-281 and A.K. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
31. *Ādi.*, 3.1.
32. *Harivaṃśa*, *Bhaviṣya*, 2.5; cf. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
33. Anandashram Series, 50.63.
34. *Ibid.*, ix. 22.37.
35. *Vana*, 83.14-15.
36. *Sm.* 13.23.
37. *Ādi*. 3.139.
38. *Ādi*. 3.141.
39. Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.* XIV, p. 88, Also Dey Nando Lal, *The Geographica Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 3rd ed. Delhi, 1971, p. 97.
40. *Uttara*, *chs.* 114 and 201.
41. See for more information Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

See Agrawala, V.S.; *India As Known to Pāṇini* (2nd ed. Varanasi 1963), pp. 50 and 72.

13

Location of the Naimisa Forest

[पुराणकथितं नैमिषा (शा) रण्यम् उत्तर-प्रदेशान्तर्गत-सीतापुरमण्डले (लखनऊ-नगर्याः पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां दिशि) विद्यत इति प्रसिद्धम्; इदमिदानीं 'निमसार' इति, 'निमखारवन' इति वोच्यते। नैमिषारण्यमिदं कुरुक्षेत्रान्तर्गतमिति पाण्डुरङ्गवामनकाणे-महोदयस्य मतम्। उभे एते मते मिराशीमहोदयेन खण्डिते। सुलतानपुरमण्डले अयोध्यायाः समीपे नैमिषारण्यस्य स्थिति रिति मिराशी-महोदयेन प्रतिपादितम्।

काणे-महोदयस्य मतमेव संगतमिति लेखकेन निबन्धेऽस्मिन् स्थापितम्। लेखकोक्ता इमा मुख्या युक्तयः—नैमिषीयाः कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्राणि चक्रुरिति कथनं वेदादिषु प्राचीन-ग्रन्थेषूपलभ्यते। अतो नैमिषारण्यं कुरुक्षेत्रान्तर्गत मित्येव संभाव्यते। कुरुक्षेत्रसंबद्धाः केचन पुरुषा नैमिषा नैमिषीया वा पुराणेषूक्ताः। पृथूदक-विनशनयोर्मध्ये नैमिषस्य स्थितिरासीदिति देवलधर्मसूत्रतो विज्ञायते। महाभारते नैमिषविषये यानि विवरणानि उपलभ्यन्ते, तानि कुरुक्षेत्रान्तर्गते नैमिषे सुष्ठु संगतानि भवन्तीति दृश्यते। पुराणे महा-भारते च सन्ति सन्दर्भाः, चे न केवलं नैमिषारण्यं कुरक्षेत्र च परस्परसंबद्धं दर्शयन्ति, प्रत्युत नैमिषं कुरक्षेत्रान्तर्गतमित्यपि स्पष्टं बोधयन्ति। स्कण्द पुराणीय-सनत्सुजात-संहितायां नैमिषारण्यस्य यादृशं वर्णनमुपलभ्यते ततोऽपि विज्ञायते यदिदमरण्यं सरस्वती-दृषद्वत्योर्मध्ये (अर्थात् कुरक्षेत्रप्रदेशे) स्थितमासीदिति।]

Naimiṣâraṇya or the Naimiśa[1] forest is usually identified with Nimsar or Nimkharvan at a short distance from the Nimsar station of the old Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, 20 miles from Sitapur and 45 miles to the north-west of Lucknow.[2] The similarity between the two names is obvious.

P. V. Kane,[3] however, locates the sacred forest, where most of the Purāṇas are said to have been recited, in Kurukṣetra on the basis of a detailed reference in the Vāyu Purāṇa. V. V. Mirashi[4] rejects both these views and places it somewhere in the Sultanpur district of Uttar Pradesh, not very far from both Ayodhyā and the hermitage of Vālmikī, in the light of the testimony of the Purāṇas and the Epics. Although the name Naimiṣāraṇya appears to have been applied to a forest in the Uttar Pradesh also it is proposed to show here that this was a later development and that the original forest of this name was situated in Kurukṣetra as believed by Prof. Kane.

From early Vedic times Naimiśa finds mention as the name of a region and the dwellers of this region are called Naimiśīyas[5] or Naimiśeyas.[6] In the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa[7] even an individual Ṛṣi named Śitibāhu Aiṣakṛta is accorded the epithet of Naimiśi on account of his residence in Naimiśa and a monkey is said to have run off with his sacrificial cake.

Later the Mahābhārata[8] and Bṛhatsaṁhitā[9] also mention it as the name of a region or its people although by this time it was popularly known as a forest.

The Naimiśīyas are known to literature as performers of Sattras or long sacrificial sessions in Kurukṣetra or Naimiṣāreṇya. These Sattras often continued for as long as twelve years at a stretch[10] and sometimes even longer than that.[11] It could hardly be possible for Ṛṣis to travel all the way from Nimsar to Kurukṣetra and then stay away from their dwellings for Sattras of such long durations. Apparently the Naimiśa, which abounded in the hermitages of Ṛṣis was only a part of Kurukṣetra so that a Sattra undertaken there could at the same time be said to have been performed in Kurukṣetra too.

A number of personalities definitely known to be connected with Kurukṣetra are associated with Naimiśā and Naimiśīyas. The Kauśītakī Brāhmaṇa[12] speaks of Daivodāsi Pratardana going to a sacrificial session of the Naimiśīyas. Pratardana was connected with the Tṛtsu Bharatas[13] and his father Divodāsa defeated the Paṇis, Pārāvatas and Vṛṣayas on the bank of the Sarasvatī[14] according to the Ṛgveda.[15] The Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā[16] describes a sacrifice of the Nimiśīyas at which they tied 27 calves in Kuru Pañcālas. Baka Dālbhya also participated in it. According to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad[17] too he officiated as a chanter of the *Sāmaveda* for the Naiṁiśīyas.

He belonged to *Kuru* Pañcālas[18] and once visited the assembly of Yudhiṣṭhira.[19] In the *Vāmana Purāṇa*[20] he is said to have been visited by Dhṛtarāṣṭra at the Avakirṇatīrtha in Pṛthūdaka or Pehova. The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa[21] connects the Naimiśīyas with the Gṛhapatis of Somaśuṣma who was the Udgātā in a sacrifice of Hṛtaśvāsaya Āllakeya, the king of the Mahāvṛṣas[22] who occupied the north-western part of Kurukṣetra and had the Śakambharas as their neighbours.[23] These references acquire great importance when it is remembered that Kurukṣetra was the centre of sacrificial culture of the Brāhmaṇic age. Dr. Keith[24] therefore rightly associates the Naimiśīyas with the Kuru country.

This position is very clearly supported by the Lawgiver Devala[25] who is quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara[26] as naming the following tīrthas of the Sarasvati: Plakṣaprāsravaṇa, Vṛddhakanyāka, Sārasvata, Vamśodbheda, Āditya, Kaubera, Vaijayanta, Pṛthūdaka, Naimiśa, Vinaśana, Vaṁśodbheda and Prabhāsa. The list begins with the source of the Sarasvatī[27] and gives the location of Naimiśa somewhere between Pṛthūdaka[28] and Vinaśana.[29] It was probably not far from Vinaśana which has been described in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras as the starting point of the Sārasvata[30] and Dārṣadvata[31] sacrificial sessions.

The Mahābhārata contains several references to Naimiśa, some of which throw light on its situation. A tīrtha Naimiśa-Kuñja[32] is specifically mentioned on the Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra and connected with the Naimiśīyas. Naimiśa is described as one of the tīrthas on Gomatī and the Kanyātīrtha, Aśvatīrtha, Gavāmtīrtha, Kālakoṭī Vṛṣaprastha and Bāhudā are named in the same region.[33] Some of these tīrthas can be identified in Kurukṣetra in the Epic itself. Kanyātīrtha is mentioned after Naimiśa-Kuñja on the Sarasvatī.[34] Gavāṁtīrtha is probably the same as Gavāmbhavana[35] identified with Gohana in district Sonepat.[36] And Bāhudā has been mentioned with Dṛṣadvatī after Gomatī and Dhūtapāpā.[37] It is also recommended for a visit immediately after the Sarasvatī.[38] Vṛṣaprastha is apparently the same tīrtha which is elsewhere mentioned as Triviṣṭapa and recommended for the worship of Vṛṣadhvaja Śūlapāṇi.[39] Some of these names are associated with the region of Kanauj[40] also but the phenomenon of a name applying to several tīrthas at the same time is too common in our country to be taken seriously.[41] Apart from that Kurukṣetra being the cradle of Indian culture the balance of probability is more in favour of their travelling from this region to other directions in the subcontinent.

In the Śalya Parva[42] occurs the story of the origin of the tīrtha called Naimiśa-Kuñja which appears to have been an extension of the Naimiśa and situated closer to the Sarasvatī. It is said that once in the Kṛtayuga such a large number of Ṛṣis collected at a twelve-year sacrifice in Naimiśa that the tīrthas on the southern bank of the Sarasvatī looked like towns. The Ṛṣis then spread right upto Samantapañcaka and, finding no room to stay near the holy river, had to stop away from it for performing sacrifices. Out of consideration for them the Sarasvatī took a turn east-ward and created many Kuñjas or bowers overgrown with plants and creepers before returning to her normal course. This is apparently an explanation of the name Prācī-Sarasvatī given to the river where it turns eastward near Pṛthūdaka or Pehoa in district Kurukṣetra.[43] The story brings out the association of Naimiśa and the Naimiśiyas with the Sarasvatī and Kurukṣetra in no uncertain terms. At another place[44] the Epic describes the river Kāñcanākṣī, one of the seven tributaries of the Sarasvatī, all of which join it in the tīrtha Saptasārasvata, as flowing through Naimiśa. Saptasārasvata, too, is a Sārasvata tīrtha of

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Kurukṣetra and was evidently located not far from Naimiśa.[45] And finally the Naimiśās are mentioned with Kurus, Pañcālas and Matsyas as people who understood Dharma.[46]

Some of the Purāṇas also contain material which is equally helpful. We can begin with a reference to some interesting observations made by Giorgio Bonazzoli in an article on the 'Place of Purāṇic Recitation'.[47] Fifteen of the Purāṇas mention the place of their recitation. Out of these, six name more than one place of narration while ten mention Naimiṣāraṇya in this regard although it is not given this privilege exclusively.[48] Bonazzoli, however, believes that the place they mention describes a moment of Purāṇic evolution rather than a topographic spot.[49] From the point of similarity between the two he concludes that Naimiśa and Kurukṣetra represent two aspects of the same Purāṇic layer. As he points out both the spots host a twelve-year-long sacrifice and both at the beginning of Kaliyuga. In both the places we meet with Lomaharṣaṇa, the Sūta, and the Ṛṣis led by Śaunaka (*see Skanda* II. 1.1.1. and II. 8.18). Moreover, the Ṛṣis at Kurukṣetra, according to *Vāyu* I. 1.11-12, are called Naimiśīyas. The Ṛṣis who attended the Purāṇas are also often called Naimiśīyas. (*see Kūrma* I. 1.2, *Garuḍa* 1.5, *Brahmāṇḍa* I. 1.37). This implies that they were exactly the same persons present at Kurukṣetra as well as Naimiśāraṇya.[50] This striking equality of everything at Kuruksetra and Naimiśa is attributed by Bonazzoli to an enthusiastic movement at the beginning of Kaliyuga which was spread all over the Madhyadeśa by itinerant Ṛṣis performing sacrifices and narrating old stories. According to him two literary and religious streams of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas took shape in this movement and the same persons in the same period did the same things but in two different places, at Kurukṣetra, traditional place of the Mahābhārata and at Naimiṣāraṇya, traditional place of the Purāṇas.

Now this explanation, in our opinion, relies on the assumption of a coincidence which is not only improbable but also superfluous in view of the availability of a more simple and straight explanation. As we shall see the place of recitation is mentioned, at least in some of the Purāṇas, so clearly and with such specific details that it obviously describes a topographic spot or region rather than a movement of Purāṇic evolution and the connection between the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata arises from the fact that Naimiṣāraṇya and Kurukṣetra both refer to the same country with the qualification that one formed a part of the other.

This is indeed the only explanation of a couple of situations presented in the Purāṇas. For instance in the *Skanda Purāṇa* according to II. 8.18 Lomaharṣaṇa tells the Kathā to Śaunaka and the Ṛṣis at Kurukṣetra while according to II. 1.1.1. he appears to have told it at Naimiśa. In *Padma Purāṇa* I. 1.2.ff. Ṛṣis and Munis are described as converging at Naimiśa from different places for performing a sacrifice and listening to Purāṇic Kathās while in *Skanda Purāṇa* II. 8.1 7. they are said to have gathered for the same purpose at Kurukṣetra. These two situations have been noted by Bonazzoli[51] but a few more are available elsewhere. According to *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* I. 1.4.ff. Śaunaka and other sages gather at Naimiśa in a thousand-year sacrifice where Sūta is requested to narrate the noble doings of the Lord whereas in I. 7.2-6 Vyāsa is said to have composed the Sātvata Saṁhitā in his hermitage named Śamyāprāsa on the western bank of Brahmanadi Sarasvatī. The *Kūrma Purāṇa*[52] in its Naimiśa Māhātmya declares that the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa was narrated by Vāyu to the Ṛṣis engaged in a Sattra in this holy forest. The Brahmāṇḍa[53] itself, on the other hand asserts that it was recited in Kurukṣetra on the bank of the Dṛṣadvatī. Bonazzoli[54] draws our attention to another striking fact. The Kurukṣetra Māhātmya[55] does not mention any Purāṇic recitation held at Kurukṣetra as normally it should. On the contrary it affirms that the place where Śaunaka, the foremost of Ṛṣis, enquires about river Sarasvatī of Lomaharṣaṇa (*i.e.* Sūta) is not Kurukṣetra but Naimiśa. He rightly finds it strange that even for the Kurukṣetra Māhātmya, the Purāṇas or some of them should be recited at Naimiśa and that such a statement should be found in a Māhātmya which is supposed to speak of Purāṇic events at Kurukṣetra and not at Naimiśa. All these apparently conflicting situations point to, and are consistent with, the location of Naimiṣāraṇya in Kurukṣetra which can be supported with Purāṇic testimony of a definitive nature.

In the *Vāmana Purāṇa* the rivers Kāñcanākṣī-Sarasvatī, Gomatī and Gurudā (Bāhudā ?) are connected with one another and with Naimiṣa.[56] The Gomatī is said to join the Sarasvatī[57] which lends plausibility to its identification with the Dṛṣadvatī by Dr Kane. Prahlāda, the Demon king, goes with his Daityas to Naimiśa and, while hunting after a bath there, reaches the river Sarasvatī which is flowing with clear water.[58] In another story Citrāṅgadā, daughter of Viśvakarmā, visits Naimiśa to take a bath[59] and falls in love with king Suratha who is carried away thirteen yojanas by the Sarasvatī, as a result of being cursed by her father.[60] Citrāṅgadā also jumps into the river Kāñcanākṣī-Sarasvatī which throws her into the great river Gomatī.[61] And as if to remove any doubt that may still be left the Vāmana mentions Naimiśa among the tīrthas of Kurukṣetra between Pavanahrada and Sapta-Sārasvata[62] where the seven Sarasvatīs, including the Kāñcanākṣī, join and then flow together.[63] So does the *Brahma Purāṇa* [64] where it is bracketted with many Kurukṣetra tīrthas like Pāṇikhāta,[65] Miśraka,[66] Madhuvaṭa,[67] Kauśikī,[68] Ṛṇamocana,[69] Koṭītirtha,[70] Somatīrtha,[71] Kanyātīrtha,[72] Saugandhikavana,[73] Sarasvatī, Saptasārasvata, Sthāṇutīrtha,[74] Kapālamocana[75] and so on.

The references in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* are even more explicit. It describes the

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Sūta as going to see Ṛṣis who, duly initiated according to the Śāstras while living in Naimiṣāraṇya, were performing a long Sattra in Dharmakṣetra Kurukṣetra on the bank of the sacred Dṛṣadvatī.[76] The expression used is 'Naimiṣāraṇya-gocarāḥ' which should mean 'frequenting, dwelling or resorting to Naimiṣāraṇya' and (at the same time) performing a Sattra in Kurukṣetra. Here too the author is anxious to eliminate all possibility of doubt and adds the names of a number of renowned personalities connected with Naimiśa. They are Rohiṇī, mother of Buddha, father of Purūravā, Vasiṣṭha, his wife Arundhatī and his eldest son, Śakti, and grandson Parāśara, king Kalmāṣapīda who was cursed by Śakti, Viśvāmitra who was the avowed enemy of Vasiṣṭha and king Purūravā himself in whose time the Sattra took place.[77] Their association with the land of Kurukṣetra and the holy Sarasvatī is only too well-known.[78] The *Vāyu* does not even admit of the possibility of Ṛṣis going from Naimiṣāraṇya all the way to Kurukṣetra to perform the sacrifice. It declares that they were called Naimiśeyas since they performed the Sattra in Naimiśa.[79] The implication is too obvious to need elaboration.

The only other Purāṇa that defines the location of Naimiṣāraṇya in most unambiguous terms is the Brahmāṇḍa[80] which follows the Vāyu on this subject almost to the letter, rendering a detailed examination unnecessary, and thus augments the force of its evidence.

Last but not the least to note is the description of Naimiṣāraṇya given in the opening verses of the Vaiśyacarita of the Sanatsujātasaṁhitā in Skanda Uttara Khaṇḍa.[81] The sacred forest is described here as resounding with the chanting of Mantras by gatherings of Maharṣis, auspicious with trees bearing flowers and situated across the waters of the Sarasvatī which agrees with its location in the doab of the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī.

An examination of relevant evidence from various classes of Sanskrit literature, including the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣadas, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, thus leads to the conclusion that Naimiśa was the name of a district and its people in ancient Kurukṣetra. It was mostly covered with wild growth and dotted with hermitages. It was located along the bank of the Dṛṣadvatī and extended towards the Sarasvatī so as to comprise the lower part of the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī doab which was called Brahmāvarta.[82] We have seen that well-known personalities of Kurukṣetra are associated with Naimiśa also, same rivers are connected with both the regions and there are situations which can be reconciled only with the equation of Gomatī with Dṛṣadvatī and the location of Naimiśa within the limits of Kurukṣetra. And finally we have cited texts which directly confirm this fact.

However, we do not rule out the possibility that in course of time the name Naimiśa or Naimiṣāraṇya travelled eastward, leaving its vestiges in names like Naimiśakuñja in Kurukṣetra and Nimsar or Nimkharvan in Uttar Pradesh.

Notes and References

1. The cerebral ṣ in place of the palatal seems to be a later appearance; cf. Vedic Index, i. 460.
2. Dey, Nando Lal, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, 3rd ed. Delhi 1971, p. 135.
3. History of the Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, Poona 1953, p. 783.
4. Purāṇa Vol. X, No. 1 (Feb. 1968) pp. 27-34.
5. Vedic Index, i. 460.
6. Mbh. (Gita Press) Śalya, 37.41-42.
7. i. 364; Also cf. Vedic Index, ii. 379.
8. Karṇa., 45.30.
9. Chaukhamba, Varanasi 1977, 11.60.
10. Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa (P.B.) XXV, 6.4. and Mbh. Śalya, 37.41-43.
11. Vāyu i. 2.5. and Bhāgavata 1.1.4ff. speak of a 1000 year sacrifice. So does P.B. XXV 17 and V. 18. Also see P.B. XXV. 7. for a 36 year Sattra and P.B. XXV. 8, for a 100 year Sattra.
12. XXVI. 5.
13. Keith, A. B., Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas, Reprint Delhi 1971, Intro. p. 45.
14. Cf. Asim Kumar Chatterjee, Political History of Pre-Buddhist India, Calcutta 1980, p. 9.
15. VI. 61. 1.
16. X. 6.
17. i. 2.13.
18. Vedic Index ii. 58.
19. Mbh. Sabhā, 4.11.
20. Ed. A.S. Gupta with Hindi tr., Varanasi, 1968, S.M. 18, 25-32.
21. i 363.
22. i. 234. The compound form Kurumahāvṛṣa (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Kāṇva Rec. 4.2.3.10.) like Kurupañcāla suggests that the Mahāvṛṣas were either a part of neighbours of the Kurus.
23. Vedic Index ii. 132.
24. *op. cit.* Intro. p. 45.
25. A contemporary of Kātyāyana dated between A.D. 400 and 600. See the Classical Age, Ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay 1954, p. 299. His complete work is not available.
26. Ed. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., G. O. S. Baroda 1942, p. 250.
27. Bharadwaj O. P., Plakṣaprāsravaṇa, A.B.O.R.I. Diamond Jubilee Volume.
28. Identified with Pehoa on the Sarasvatī river, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar. Cunningham Alexander, A.S.I.R. Vol. XIV. Reprint, Varanasi 1970, p. 101.
29. Identified with the region of Kalibangan in district Ganganagar of Rajasthan.

Bharadwaj, O.P., Vinaśana, Paper presented at the A.I.O.C. Shantiniketan (1980) Session.

30. *e.g.* Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa XXV. 10, XXV. 11., XXV. 12 and Aśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra VI. 6 *etc.*
31. *e.g.* Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa XXV. 13 and Kātyāyana Śrauta Sutra XXIV. 6 *etc.*
32. Vana, 83.109-110.
33. Vana, 95. 1-4.
34. Vana, 83.112.
35. Vana, 83.50.
36. Agrawala, V.S., Vāmana Purāṇa—A Study, Varanasi 1964, p. 188.
37. Vāmana, 13.21. It is possible that Dhūtapāpā has been used as an adjective here.
38. Vana, 84.66-67.
39. Vana, 83.84, and Vāmana, S.M. 15. 41-42.
40. See Dey under relevant entries.
41. See *e.g.* Dey under entries on Kapāla-Mocana, Kanyātīrtha, Cakratīrtha and Dharmāraṇya *etc.*
42. 37.36-57.
43. Vāmana, 23. 43.
44. Śalya, 38. 19-20.
45. Vana, 83. 115-133. It is traditionally located at village Mangna 5 miles to the west of Pehoa. See A.S.I.R. XIV. p. 100.
46. Karṇa, 45.30.
47. Purāṇa Vol. XXIII, No. 1. Jan. 81 pp. 48-61.
48. *ibid.* p. 49.
49. *ibid.* p. 53.
50. *ibid.* p. 58.
51. *ibid.* p. 52-53.
52. Mansukh Rai Mor ed. ii. 43.14.
53. Ed. J.L. Sastri, Delhi 1973, i. 1.27ff. and i. 1. 160.
54. *op. cit.* p. 57.
55. Vāmana, S.M. 16.24ff.
56. 57. 1-3.
57. 37. 60-61.
58. 7.41-42.
59. 37.40.
60. 37.54.
61. 37.60-61.
62. S.M., 16.6-8.
63. S.M., 16. 17-18.

64. Mansukh Rai Mor ed. i, 25.44.
65. Cf. Mbh. Vana, 83.89 and Vāmana, S. M. 15.51.
66. Mbh. Vana 83.94. and Vāmana, S.M. 15.52.
67. Mbh. Vana 83.94 and Vāmana, S. M. 15.55.
68. Mbh. Vana. 83.95 and Vāmana S. M. 13.18.
69. Vāmana, S. M, 20.6.
70. Mbh. Vana. 83.17 and Vāmana, S. M. 13.28.
71. Mbh. Vana. 83.114 and Vāmana, S. M. 20.4. and 13. 33-35.
72. Mbh. Vana. 83.112 and Vāmana, 57.43.
73. Mbh. Vana 84.4 and Vāmana, S. M. 26.55.
74. Mbh. Śalya, 42 : 4-7 and Vāmana, S. M. 19.3.
75. Mbh. Vana, 83.137 and Vāmana, S. M. 18.13.
76. i. 1.12.
77. i. 2.8ff.
78. For Purūravas and others connected with him see Bharadwaj, O. P.: Identification of Ludhiana, Purāṇa Vol. VII, No. 2 (July 1975) pp. 106-117 and Vol. XXI, No. 2 (July 1979) pp. 177-193; for Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, Mbh. 42.4; for Śakti, Kalmāṣapāda and rivalry of Vasiṣṭha & Viśvāmitra, Brahmāṇḍa i. 1.2.11.
79. i. 2.12.
80. See 1.17. and 160; 2.9ff and 2.13. *etc.*
81. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. In the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Vol. IV, Madras, 1908, p. 1843, No. 2542. Beg.
82. Manusmṛti ii. 17.

14

The Romance of Ancient Rohtak

Rohtak,[1] the beloved city of Lord Kārttikeya, has been noticed in ancient Indian literature as Rohitaka, Rohitapura or simply Rohita.[2]

According to a local tradition the real town was founded and named Rohtasgarh by a Panwar King Rohtas at the site of the Khokrakot mound.[3] This story appears to be superimposed on an earlier tradition because both the Panwars and the name Rohtasgarh cannot go beyond the medieval age whereas Rohitaka itself has a very remote past. It may, therefore, be holding more than meets the eye.

The Purāṇas record the founding of a town Rohitapura by king Rohita,[4] also called Rohitāśva[5] or Rohitāsya,[6] son of the famous Hariścandra, the 33rd descendent of Manu Vaivasvata.[7] Birbal Sahni notes yet another suggestion that the city was named Rohitaka on account of the abundance here of the plant of this name (Latin *Amoora Rohtuka=Andersonia Rohituka*) which appears to be nothing but fanciful because the plant grows nowhere in the Punjab, not anywhere, in fact in the whole of North India West of Oudh.[8]

The antiquity of Rohitaka, however, hardly needs the prop of a tradition to lean against. The site of the old mound of Khokra-Kot probably stands on the remains of the so-called Indus civilisation,[9] awaiting the spade of the archaeologist, and it may well be possible to recognise the name in a class of literature much older than the extant version of the *Purāṇas*.

Pāṇini has a suffix *kūla*[10] which was used to form place-names. The *Kāśikā* cites two instances of such formation, namely Dākṣikūla and Māhakikūla.[11] Both these examples relate to places named after personalities of great antiquity. Dākṣi was the son of Prajāpati Dakṣa[12], while Māhaki or 'descendent of Mahaka' is the patronymic of a teacher in the *Vamśa Brāhmaṇa*.[13] Evidently the name-ending *kūla* had become antiquated even by the time of Pāṇini (500 B.C.)[14] and might have gone out of use leaving these stray instances since one does not come across it later.

This name ending figures in the name of a *Sāman* called *Rohita Kūlīya* after the place where it was composed. The nomenclature has been explained in the *Jaiminīya* and *Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇas.* According to the former[15] the sage Viśvāmitra once travelled to the country of the Mahāvṛṣas in the bullock-cart of the Bharatas. He made a wager with the Mahāvṛṣas on the condition that his two ruddy oxen would carry the vehicle over the steep bank of the river Gaṅgā or Yamunā—the writer is not sure which, Viśvāmitra then composes this *Sāman* and wins the race. Because he won the race by means of this *Sāman* through his two ruddy ones the place and the *Sāman* came to be called *Rohitakūla* and *Rohitakūlīya* respectively. The *Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇā*[16] also offers a similar explanation but mentions a person(s) whom it calls Adanti in place of the Mahāvṛṣas and does not mention the name of any river.

The authors of both the *Brāhmaṇas* accept Rohitakūla as the name of a place. Whether Adanti is the name of some tribe or a king or leader of the Mahāvṛṣas is, however, not certain.[17] Nor does the *Pañcaviṃśa*, which is considered older in date,[18] suggest any connection of the wager with a river. It simply says that Viśvāmitra won the race at Rohitakūla by means of this *Sāman* through his two ruddy ones. The climbing of a steep bank by his oxen, therefore, appears to be the product of imagination of the author of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* which is later in date.[19] This inference finds support from the fact that the author is himself not sure whether the river was Gaṅgā or Yamunā.

Even if any river did play a part in the story it could not be either of these two for the simple reason that the Bharatas and Viśvāmitra are not mentioned near them in the earliest Vedic literature. Bharata princes are, of course, placed near the rivers Sarasvatī, Dṛṣadvatī and Āpayā, all rivers of Kurukṣetra in the *Ṛgveda.*[20] Their connection with the Sarasvatī is also reflected in the association of the goddess Bhāratī, their personified protective power, with Sarasvatī in the Āpri hymns.[21] Viśvāmitra, in one hymn, praises the rivers Vipāś (Beas) and Śutudri (Sutlej).[22] He is associated with Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha[23] and his hermitage like that of Vasiṣṭha is placed on the bank of the Sarasvatī in later tradition.[24]

But most probably Viśvāmitra simply composed the *Sāman* at the place called Rohitakūla and the author of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa,* not conversant with the local geography and the significance of the name, added an element of the spectacular to explain it. As a matter of fact on the analogy of Dākṣikūla and Māhakikūla, Rohitakūla would be a place named after Rohita. This conclusion appears to support the later Purāṇic tradition. It is, therefore, quite probable that the town was originally founded by Rohita or Rohitāśva, son of king Hariścandra, and named Rohitakūla which was reduced to Rohitaka or Rohita by the loss of the suffix *kūla* with the passage of time. It is significant that the tradition connecting the town with Rohitāśva has survived even in the comparatively recent name Rohtasgarh.

In any case Rohitaka already appears to have become an important name among the towns of northern India by the time of the Buddha (6th century B.C.) The *Vinaya* of the *Mūla Sarvāstivādins* has survived in its Chinese and Tibetan translations of about the second century A.D. The compilation of the original is believed to have taken place a couple of centuries earlier, probably in the second or first century B.C., by which time the sect of the *Sarvāstivādins* is kuown to have come into existence.[25] Describing a long journey of the Buddha the Bhaiṣajyavastu in the *Vinaya* of the *Mūla Sarvāstivādins* states that accompanied by Ānand Buddha went from Hastināpura through Mahānagara, Srughna, Brāhmaṇagrāma and Kālanagara to Rohitaka where he summoned the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi and travelled with him to the north-west and back.[26] The same *Vinaya* describes the journey of Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya, the physician of the Buddha, from Takṣaśilā to Mathurā when he passes through Bhadrankara, Udumbaras and Rohitaka.[27]

Tche Mang also travels from Śākala or Sialkot to Rohitaka, passing on his way through Pin-Ki-Pola. Potcha-nakie and Akia-lon-tu=Agroda or Agroha, another ancient city to the west-north-west of Rohitaka, thirteen miles north-west of Hissar—the original place of Agarwal Baniyas.[28] Buddhist sources also affirm the association of the city with Lord Kārttikeya or Kumāra. The Mahāmāyūrī text, believed to have been composed within one and a half centuries of the Kuṣāṇa king Huvishka,[29] mentions Rohitaka in connection with a famous shrine of the deity who is also known as Skanda. With this background it is natural that the recent efforts to revive the faith in the region should register more impact in Rohtak in comparison to other cities. The district-wise census of 1911 records the highest number of Buddhists in Haryana and Punjab in Rohtak.[30]

The *Mahābhārata* mentions Rohitaka along with the Bhadras, Agreyas and Mālavas, as a republic conquered by Karṇa in his Digvijaya for Duryodhana's Vaiṣṇava sacrifice.[31] It is also described among the places and regions subdued by Nakula in his conquest of the western direction for the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. At the time of the Great Epic's composition Rohitaka was the capital of the Yaudheya janapada comprising the twin states of Maru and Bahudhānyaka which were both completely overrun by Nakula. He had to face very stiff resistance of the recklessly brave Yaudheya warriors who fought under the emblem of the dancing peacock and were vanquished in a fierce battle. In this march Nakula also conquered among other places, Mahettha or Meham and

Śairīṣaka or Sirsa. The region has been called Daśārṇa or the country of ten fortresses and one King Ākrośa who was defeated here is called a Rājarṣi.[32]

Of special note is the description of Rohitaka as a prosperous city rich in foodgrains and wealth and beloved of god Kārttikeya who was the tutelary deity of the Yaudheyas and finds place on their coins along with his consort Ṣaṣṭhi.[33] Later at the time of the Great War Rohitakāraṇya or the forest in the vicinity of Rohitaka has been described along with Pañcanada, Kurujāṅgala, Marubhūmi, Ahichhatrā, Kālakūṭa, Gaṅgā-kūla, Vāraṇa, Vāṭadhāna and Yamunā, hill as occupied by the forces supporting Duryodhana.[34] The region is again mentioned as very expansive and rich in wealth and grains.

The Yaudheyas have been mentioned by Pāṇini among the Āyudhajīvisaṅghas or warrior classes[35] and their coins have been discovered from Behat, Sonepat, Depalpur, Kehror, Multan and Sunet[36] apart from Rohitaka where Birbal Sahni discovered their mint site in the Khokra Kot mound.[37] A stone inscription in the Bijayagarh fort in Bharatpur district of Rajasthan records some benefaction of a military officer of the Yaudheyas.[38] Although the *Mahābhārata* restricts their possessions to the provinces of Maru and Bhahudhānyaka it appears from the combined testimony of their coins and the inscription that their writ, at one time, ran in the extensive territory from river Sutlej in the north to Bharatpur in the south and from the other side of river Yamunā in the east to the erstwhile state of Bahawalpur in Pakistan in the west.[39] The territory on the banks of the Sutlej, right upto the borders of the Bahawalpur state is still known as Johiyāwār after them.[40]

The Yaudheyas were indeed, formidable warriors and boasted of holding the secret formula of victory.[41] They have been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa* and as many as eight *Purāṇas viz*., the *Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu, Brahma, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Agni, Garuḍa* and *Bhāgavata*. The Girnar inscription of Kṣatrapa Rudradāman I acknowledges their bravery while describing them as "difficult to be controlled on account of their conceit born of their having proclaimed amongst all the Kṣatriyas, their title of heroes."[43] They seem to have gained a decisive victory over Vasudeva I and expelled the Kuṣāṇas from the Punjab.[44] Much later, in his *Yaśastilakacampū*, a work of A.D., 959[45] we find the poet Somadeva waxing eloquent in the praises of the Yaudheya janapada.[46]

Of the two provinces into which the state of Rohitaka was divided Maru, meaning desert, has been identified with Marwar and loosely with Rajputana.[47] The identification suggested by Prof. Jaya Chandra with the desert of Bagar, that is, the portion of Haryana west of the Rohtak-Sirsa line and adjoining the Bikaner territory, however, appears to be more precise and reasonable.[48] The region of Bahudhānyaka was close to Khāṇḍavaprastha and lay on Nakula's route to

Meham and Sirsa. Its identification with Ludhiana[49] or northern Pañcāla[50] is, therefore, not tenable on philological or territorial grounds. It would be more plausible to equate it roughly with the territory of south-eastern Punjab[51] with its seat of power at Rohitaka. It is interesting to note that the Jāṭs of Rohtak district call themselves Kṣatriyas although they are regarded as Śūdras in some parts of Rajasthan.[52] Like the Johiyas many of them have probably descended from the Yaudheyas.

Its geographical importance entitled Rohitaka to a place even in technical literature. *Sūryasiddhānta*, a work assigned to the period earlier than the 4th century A.D.[53] is a well known treatise on astronomy, traditionally ascribed to Asura Maya. It mentions Rohitaka as one of the places situated on the straight line from Ceylon to Mount Meru (0° longitude). Other places mentioned are Avanti and Sannihatī lake in Kurukṣetra.[54]

Barely about a century later the dramatist Śyāmilaka (5th century A.D.), in his drama *Pādatāḍitaka*[55] remembers Rohitaka for its artists. He describes a dancer entertaining a crowd of revellers in the compound of a tavern. Holding aloft a liquor pot in his left hand, wearing a wreath of the yellow amaranth flowers on one ear, swinging his hips and pulling up his slipping upper garment again and again he is dancing to the popular songs of the country of the Yaudheyas in accompaniment with the musicians of Rohitaka, playing upon the flute, plates of bell-metal and drums and regaling the gathering.[56]

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who visited India during the reign of king Harṣa of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty of Sthāṇvīśvara (modern Thanesar), also describes in the account of his travels a place named Rohitaka where a tope had been erected by Aśoka. According to Watters[57] an interesting passage of the Sarvata (sic ?) *Vinaya* places Rohitaka in India, south of Kashmir. Here Buddha, while lodged and entertained by a good Buddhist Yakṣā, gave his disciples leave to eat grapes purified by fire and to drink grape-syrup. The grapes offered on this occasion were brought from Kashmir by the Yakṣas and the fruit was new to the disciples. Although the place called Rohitaka here has been equated with Hazara[58] the possibility of the reference being to our town cannot be entirely ruled out in view of Buddha's visit with Ānand and his summoning of Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi here as already noted.[59]

The next reference occurs, in an inscription, the *praśasti* of the temple of Lakkhā Maṇḍal at Madha in Jaunsar Bawar on the upper Jumna. The *praśasti* has been edited by Dr. Bühler and assigned to the period between A.D. 600 to 800[60] It records the dedication of a temple of Śiva by a princess named Īśvarā who belonged to the royal race of Singhapura for spiritual welfare of her husband Śrī Candragupta, the son of a king of Jālandhara. The relevant portion records that the *praśasti* had been incised in the stone by a mason called Īśvaraṇāga, an inhabitant of Rohitaka and son of Nāgadatta.[61] Incidentally it shows that the masons of Rohitaka were in demand for their skill in far off places.

We have already alluded to Somdeva whose *Yaśastīlakacampū* contains a vivid description of the Yaudheyajanapada and its people without specially mentioning Rohitaka by name. So we pass on to Albirunī who came to India in the 11th century A.D. The reference is on the lines of the one noted above from *Sūrya-siddhānta* and may well be based on knowledge derived from it. According to Albirunī the line on which the astronomical calculations of the Hindus are based (as 0° of longitude) runs in a straight line from Lanka to Meru, through Ujjain, Mathurā, Rohitaka, Kurukshetra and Himavanta. He mentions Rohitaka as a fortress in the district of Multan.[62]

And last but not the least is the reference to the city by Kalhaṇa, the author of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the celebrated history of the kings of Kashmir written about A.D. 1148. It describes the benevolence of a merchant called Noṇa from the Rohitaka country who lived in the realm of king Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II which was full of traders from all regions. Noṇa built a monastery called Noṇamaṭha, known for its religious merits, for the accommodation of Brāhmaṇas born in Rohita land.[63]

The notices brought together here are from all kinds of literature including religious, historical and even technical. They present a picture which would be the envy of any other city of similar antiquity. Probably as old as the Harappan civilization and known to Vedic literature, the city of Rohitaka was, according to tradition, founded by Rohita or Rohitāśva, the son of the renowned king Hariścandra and was the leading town of the fertile country adopted by the Bharatas. It was situated on the ancient trunk-route of commerce which led from Takṣaśilā to Tāmralipti, passing through Śākala or Sialkot, Pathankot, Thūṇā or Thanesar, Agrodaka or Agroha, Rohitaka, Indraprastha, Mathurā, Soron, Kāmpilya, Saṅkisā, Kānyakubja and Varanasi.[64] It was already well known in Buddhist times and august personages including Lord Buddha honoured it with their visits.

It was the capital of a formidable warrior clan dreaded for their heroism. Nature had endowed its people with material affluence as generously as with the finest qualities of head and heart. They loved travel and their chivalry and prosperity was tempered with their love of religion and benevolence on one side and of fine arts like music and dancing on the other. They handled the chisel and the flute with equal felicity. For these qualities they were known far and wide and so was the principal town of the country that produced them.

One could not do better than reproduce the glowing tribute paid to them by Somadeva in his account of the Yaudheya janapada.[65]

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"There was no confusion whatever about the conduct and duties of the people of different castes in the Yaudheya country but they had certain common attributes. Their wealth was for charity, youth for wealthy pursuits, life for earning name and fame and house-hold possessions for the needy."

Notes and References

1. Headquarters of the district and tehsil of the same name in Haryana. Situated 28° 54′ N and 76° 35′ E, 44 miles N.W. of Delhi, distance by rail from Calcutta 1000 miles, from Bombay 1026 miles. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, London 1908, vol. XXI. p. 321.
2. *Rājatraṅgiṇī*, ed. by Sir A. Stein, Delhi, Rept. 1960, has Rohita (see infra) and *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* gives Rohitapura. Elsewhere Rohitaka.
3. *Rohtak District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1910. p. 1.
4. हरिश्चन्द्रस्य पुत्रोऽभूद्रोहितो नाम वीर्यवान् ।
   येनेदं रोहितपुरं कारितं राज्यसिद्धये ।।

   Harivaṃśapurāṇa, Gita Press, i. 13.26.

   Cf. Pargiter, F.E., *Ancient Indian historical tradition*, Delhi Rept. 1972, p. 266.
5. ...त्रिशङ्कोर्हरिश्चन्द्रः तस्माच्च रोहिताश्वः, ततश्च हरितः...

   Viṣṇvpurāṇa, Gita Press iv, 3.25.
6. रुरोद रोहितास्योऽपि दृष्ट्वा कृष्टां तु मातरम् ।
   हस्तेन वस्त्रमाकर्षन् काकपक्षधरः शिशुः ।।

   Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, ed. by Shri Ram Sharma Bareilly, 1967, vol. I. 8.58.
7. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Also Bhargava, P.L., *India in the Vedic age*, Lucknow 1956, p. 97, who makes him Manu's 38th descendent.
8. Sahni, Birbal, *The Technique of casting coins in ancient India*, Bombay, 1945, p. 8.
9. *ibid.*, p. 7.
10. कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् ।। vi. 2.129.
11. Agrawal, V.S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 66.
12. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*, p. 475.
13. *Vedic index*. II, p. 163.
14. Agrawal, V.S. *op. cit.*, p. 477.
15. विश्वामित्रो वै भरतानाम् अनस्वत्या महावृषान् अयात् । तद् ह गङ्गायै वा यमुनायै वा बृहत्प्रतिकूलम् आस ।...सोऽकामयत विश्वामित्र उद् इदम् आजिम् जयेयम् इति । स एते सामनी अपश्यत् ।...ततो वै स तम् आजिम् उदजयत् ।... यद् उ कूले रोहिताभ्याम् उदजयत्, तस्माद् रोहितकूलीये इत्य् आख्यायेते ।

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda, ed. by Raghuvira and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur, 1954, III, 183.

16. रोहितकूलीयं भवत्या जिजित्यायै ॥ एतेन वै विश्वामित्रो रोहिताभ्यां रोहितकूल आजिमजयत् ॥ विश्वामित्रो भरतानां मनस्वत्याऽयात् सोऽदन्तिभिर्नाम जनतयांशं प्रास्यत इमां मां यूयं अस्तिकाञ्जयाथेमानि मह्यं यूयं पूरयाच यदी माविदं रोहितावश्माचितं कूलमुद्वहात इति स एते सामनी अपश्यत् ताभ्यां युक्त्वा प्रासेधत् स उदजयत् ॥

Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, Chaukhamba, Benares, 1936. 143, 11-13.

17. Caland. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 354., accepts it as a plural and appears to take it for a group of persons called Adanti.
18. Macdonell, A.A. *A History af Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, Rept. 1962. p. 172.
19. *ibid.*
20. अमन्थिष्टां भारतारेवदग्निं देवश्रवा देववातः सुदक्षम् ।
अग्ने विपश्य बृहताभिरायेषां नो नेता भवतादनुद्यून् ॥
नि त्वा दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इलायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम् ।
दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ॥

iii, 23.2 and 4.

Also cf. Bhargava, M.L., *The Geography of Ṛgvedic India*, Lucknow 1964, p. 12.

Sarasvatī is the present Sarsuti flowing past Thanesar-Kurukshetra. cf. *Vedic index*. II, p. 434.

Dṛṣadvatī has been identified with Chautang nullah flowing to the east of Thanesar by Rapson, *Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1960 p. 24, with Rakṣī nadi by Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India report* xiv. 88 and more plausibly with the river that originally flowed in the bed now under the Western Jumna Canal, Hansi-Hissar branch by M.L. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 55ff.

Apayā is the same as Āpagā, = Lower Chautang, to the east of Mānuṣa = village Manas near Kaithal. cf. M.L Bhargava. *op. cit.*, p. 62ff. and Cunningham *op. cit.*, p. 88ff.

21. Macdonell A.A., The Vedic Mythology, Reprint, Delhi, 1971, p. 87.
22. प्र पर्वतानामुशती उपस्थादश्वे इव विषिते हासमाने ।
गावेव शुभ्रे मातरा रिहाणे विपाट्छुतुद्री पयसा जवेते ॥

Ṛgveda iii. 33. 1.

Also cf. Vedic index, II, pp. 310-312.

23. विश्वामित्रजमदग्नी वसिष्ठेनास्पर्धेताम् ।

Taittirīya Samhitā 3. 1. 75.

तस्य ह विश्वामित्रो होतासीज्जमदग्निः अध्वर्युः वसिष्ठो ब्रह्मायास्य उद्गाता...

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 16.

24. आश्रमो वै वसिष्ठस्य स्थाणुतीर्थेऽभवन्महान् ।
पूर्वत: पार्श्वतश्चासीद् विश्वामित्रस्य धीमत: ॥

Mahābhārata, Gita Press, Śalya, 42.4.

25. Winternitz, M, *A History of Indian literature*, Calcutta, 1933, vol. II. p. 232. According to G.S.P. Misra the Chinese and Tibetan translations do not go beyond the fifth century A.D. See *The Age of the Vinaya*, Delhi. 1972. p. 7.
26. Frauwallner E., *The Earliest Vinaya and the beginnings of Buddhist literature*. Roma, 1956. pp. 31-32.
27. Przyluski, J., *Ancient Peoples of the Punjab—The Udumbaras and Salvas*. Calcutta, Rept., 1960, p. 2.
28. *ibid*., p. 10.
29. Chattopadhyaya Bhaskar, *The Age of the Kushāṇas—A Numismatic Study*, Calcutta 1967, p. 179; Winternitz, *op. cit*., p. 386 assigns the text to the second century A.D. and its translation into Chinese to the fourth century A.D.
30. Ahir, D.C., *Buddhism in the Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*. Delhi, 1971. p. 84.

31. भद्रान् रोहितकांश्चैव आग्रेयान् मालवानपि ।
गणान् सर्वान् विनिर्जित्य नीतिकृत्प्रहसन्निव ॥

Vana. 245.20.

32. ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाढ्यं घनधान्यवत् ।
कार्तिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ॥

Sabhā. 32.4-7.

तत्रं युद्धं महच्चासीच्छूरैर्मत्तमयूरकै: ।
मरुभूमिं सकात्स्न्येंन तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ॥
शैरीषकं महेत्थं च वशे चक्रे महाद्युति: ।
आक्रोशं चैव राजर्षिम् तेन युद्धमभून्महत् ।
तान् दशार्णान् स जित्वा च प्रतस्थे पाण्डुनन्दन: ॥

33. Gupta. P.L., *Coins*, Delhi 1969, p. 38; Altekar, A.S. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, Lahore, 1946. p. 30; Agrawal, R.C., *Six-headed Skanda on Yandheya coins*, in *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XXVIII, 1966. The legend on one class of their coins is :

"भगवतो ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य कुमारस्य ।"

34. राज्ञां स्वबलमुख्यानां प्राधान्येनापि भारत ।
तत: पञ्चनदं चैव कृत्स्नं च कुरुजांगलम् ॥
तथा रोहितकारण्यं मरुभूमिश्च केवला ।
अहिच्छत्रं कालकूटं गंगाकूलं च भारत ॥
वारणं वाटधानं च यामुनश्चैव पर्वत: ।

एष देशः सुविस्तीर्णः प्रभूतधनधान्यवान् ।।
बभूव कौरवेयाणां बलेनातीव संवृतः ।
तत्र सैन्यं तथा युक्तं ददर्श स पुरोहितः ।।

Udyoga 19.29-32.

35. Agrawal, V.S. *op. cit.*, pp. 79 and 447.
36. Agrawal, Jagannath, *An Ancient Republic of the Punjab—The Yaudheyagaṇa, essays on history, literature and culture* in *Dr. M.S. Randhawa Felicitation Volume*, Chandigarh, 1970, pp. 49-55, p. 54.
37. *op. cit.*, p. 7.
38. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* vol. III, p. 250-1.
39. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta age*, pp. 29-30.
40. *ibid.*, Also Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India, Varanasi* 1963, p. 207.
41. Agrawal Jagannath, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
42. *ibid.*, p. 49.
43. सर्वक्षत्राविष्कृत वीरशब्दजातोत्सेकाविधेयानां यौधेयानाम्...
    Diskalkar, D.B., *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pt. I. Rajkot 1925, p. 2.
44. Agrawal, Jagannath, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Also *Vākāṭaka-Gupta age*, pp. 28-29.
45. Keith, A.B., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 333.
46. Ed. by Sunder Lal Shastri, Varanasi, 1960. p. 10ff.
47. Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1971 ed., p. 12; Jain Kailash Chand, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan*, Delhi 1972, p. 34; *Vākāṭaka-Gupta age*, p. 28; and Dey, Nando Lal, *Geographical dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1971 ed., p. 127.
48. Sahni, Birbal, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
49. Moti Chandra *Sārthavāha*, Patna, 1953, p. 16.
50. Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, Delhi, Rept. 1972, p. 119.
51. Cf. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta age*, p. 28.
52. Sharma, Dashrath, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, Delhi, 1959, p. 249.
53. Keith. *op. cit.*, pp. 517-18.
54. Ed. by Fitz. Edward Hall, Calcutta, 1859, p. 48, Ch. I v. 62. :

    राक्षसालयदेवौकः शैलयोर्मध्यसूत्रगाः ।
    रोहीतकमवन्ती च यथा सन्निर्हितं सरः ।।

55. *The drama, a Bhāṇa*, has been edited by Moti Chandra and V.S. Agrawal with an elaborate introduction, Hindi translation and notes in a collection of four dramas under the title *Śṛṅgārahāṭa* or *Caturbhāṇī*, Bombay, 1959. For date see Intro. p. 6.

56. अयं नु खलु रोहितकीयैर्मार्दङ्गिकैः कांस्यपत्रवेणुमिश्रैर्यौधेयकवर्णरूपगीयमानः एकश्रवणावलम्बितकुरण्टकशेखरो विरलमपसव्यमाकुलदशमुत्तरीयमपवर्तिकया संक्षिपन्मुहुर्मुहुः प्रकटकस्फिक् सव्येन पाणिना मद्यभाजनमुत्क्षिप्य नृत्यन्नापानमण्डपं हासयति ।...

    ibid., p. 168.

57. Watters, Thomas, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* 629-645 A.D., London, 1904, pp. 237-38.
58. *ibid.*
59. See No. 26 supra.
60. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 10ff.
61. अश्मनीश्वरणागेन नागदत्तस्यसुनुना ।
    उत्कीर्णा सूत्रधारेण रौहितकनिवासिना ॥

    ibid., p. 14.1.14. v. 23.

62. Sachau, E., *Albiruni's India*, London, 1910, vol. I, p. 308.
63. प्रतापतापितारातिः प्रतापपुरपत्तनम् ।
    मघवन्नगरस्पर्धि दीर्वबाहुर्व्यधत्तसः ॥
    नानादिगन्तरायात तत्तत्क्रयिकसंकुले ।
    नोणाभिद्योऽवसत्तस्य देशे रौहीतको वणिक् ॥
    रौहीतदेशे जातानां निवेशाय द्विजन्मनाम् ।
    महागुणो नोणमठं पुण्यज्येष्ठं चकार सः ॥

    iv. 10-12.

64. Przyluski, *op. cit.*, 12; *Sarthavāha*, p. 18.
65. दानेन वित्तानि धनेन यौवनं यशोभिरायूंषि गृहाणि चार्थिभिः ।
    भजन्ति सांकर्यमिमानि देहिनां न यत्र वर्णाश्रमधर्मवृत्तयः ॥

    Yaśastilakacampū, p. 11, ch. I, v. 45.

15

Gautama Buddha in Kuruksetra

It has been observed that Buddhism attained the highest degree of its splendour in India in the 6th century.[1] Even at that time, however, the number of adherents of the faith could not have formed more than a fraction of the vast population.[2]

The situation in the region of Kurukṣetra, was even less encouraging. The revival of Buddhism here under the patronage of Harṣavardhana created little impact and failed to displace the Brahmanical religion. Hiuen Tsang notes with obvious regret the existence of only three monasteries against some hundred Deva temples in Sthāṇvīśvara[3], home town of Harṣa, and only five monasteries against 140 Deva temples in Srughana[4] where the people, although honest and respectful to religious wisdom, were not Buddhists. Even in Mathurā the 20 monasteries, coming down from the days of Fa-Hien, had suffered reduction in the strength of priests from three thousand to two thousand.[5] As a matter of fact, Śaivism in the form of the Pāśupata sect had already put in appearance over the whole of north India and Kashmir.[6]

Little wonder then that we often find no entry relating to Kurukṣetra among the places of Buddhist interest in north India.[7] Although by the time of the Buddha the centre of speculative culture in India had shifted towards Magadha from the Kuru Pañcālas,[8] this part of the country has been the stronghold of Brahmanical religion throughout its long history. And when ultimately this citadel of Aryan orthodoxy lost its glory, the intellectuals of the age wept. So in the allegorical play *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra (*circa* 11th century A.D.) the two evil characters, Cārvāka and King Mahāmohā, are made to rejoice over the decline of learning even in Kurukṣetra the foremost of the sacred places.[9]

The failure of Buddhism to blossom in the soil of its birth cannot, however, be blamed solely on the lack of effort in its cause. The remark that Buddhism in

India was propagated only temporarily and locally[10] is justified only to the extent that it was not patronised by a long chain of successive kings over the length and breadth of this huge sub-continent. But it could hardly be otherwise in the context of the history and geography of the land. It must be remembered that some of the patrons of Buddhism were powerful kings with extensive dominions which in case of at least one of them, namely, Aśoka, transcended the boundaries of the country.

Nor did Gautama Buddha himself spare any efforts at least in the northern half of the land where he undertook long and tiresome journeys in pursuance of his aim to reach the common man. As we gather from the *Aṭṭhakathā* (Manorathapūraṇī) of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and the *Buddhavaṁsa Aṭṭhakathā* (Madhuratthavilāsinī), Gautama Buddha renounced the world at the age of 29 years. During the next nine years he performed austere penance and attained Buddhahood. Thereafter during the next 46 years he travelled from state to state, town to town and village to village propagating the Faith and sojourning at any one place only during the three months of the rainy season.[11] Although the heart of Madhyadeśa proper received more attention from him the ancient land of the Kurus was also not ignored and as the *Mahāvastu* states the Buddha himself converted the people of the Kuru janapada.[12]

It is difficult to agree with the view that the Kuru country had very little political importance in Buddha's time and that it was being ruled only by a titular chieftain.[13] This can be true only in the sense that this region was not dominating the Indian political scene at the time otherwise the Kuru king was prominent enough to find repeated mention in Buddhist works as a benevolent ruler (*rājā*).[14]

Culturally the region enjoyed very high prestige in the country. The *Aṅguttaranikāya* names it among the sixteen *mahājanapadas* or prominent countries of Jambūdvīpa having abundant food and wealth and the seven kinds of gems.[15] It was divided into two portions namely, Uttarakuru and Dakkhiṇakuru and was 8000 *yojanas* in extent.[16] *The Jātakas*[17] describe the Kuru kingdom as three hundred leagues in extent while its capital Indapatta was seven leagues in extent. In the *Divyāvadāna*[18] Hastināpura is also mentioned as its capital while the *Mahāvastu*[19] magnifies the greatness of the kingdom ruled from this city attributing to it sixty thousand cities.

The dynasty ruling from Indraprastha belonged to Yudhiṭṭhila gotta *i.e.* the family of Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas, and Dhanañjaya Koravya is mentioned as the King of the Kurus.[20] The climate of the region was agreeable and food was rich. The people, therefore, enjoyed good health physically as well as mentally and were always ready to receive instruction in profound religious truths. The Bhikṣus, Bhikṣunīs and the Upāsakas, and Upāsikas, all conducted themselves in the spirit of Smṛtiprasthāna. The talk of the domestic servants and labourers revolved around it, so much so that even at the village-wells and weaving centres none indulged in idle gossip.[21] In short, the Buddhist literature is full of stories in which the land of the Kurus and its princes and people play a leading role.[22]

To refer to only one instance, the Bodhisattva is described as having once been born to the Chief queen of the Kuru king Dhanañjaya in his capital city of Indapatta. On coming to the throne the Bodhisattva along with his family and officials accepted and obeyed the Kurudhamma which consisted in the observance of the five *śilas* or rules of moral conduct and possessed the mystic virtue or bringing prosperity to the country where it was practised.[23] This established idea of righteousness prevailing among the Kuru people is made explicit again and again. In the *Mahāvastu*, for instance, the Kuru prince Sudhanu praises morality and non-violence, whereas Aṣṭamaka, another Kuru king, shows his concern for the next world. Yet another Kuru King Mahendra dedicates his life to wait upon a Buddha It has been rightly observed that it is this fame of the Kuru people that is reflected in the traditional belief that men of Uttarakuru are virtuous by nature.[24] The story of King Dhanañjaya and his wise minister Paṇḍita Vidhura finds repeated mention in the Jātaka tales.

In the circumstances it would have been unnatural if the accounts of the Buddha's travels coming down to us in various Buddhist Sanskrit and Pali works had failed to refer to the Kurus. Here we propose to examine for identification the names of the towns visited by the Buddha in his journeys to the Kurus. But first we should like to say a word on the geographical definition of Kurus in Buddha's time. The boundaries of Kurukṣetra or the land of the Kurus had come to acquire, more or less, a precise definition by the time of the composition of the Āraṇyakas.[25] The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* describes a sacrifice performed by the gods with Kurukṣetra as their altar. The Khāṇḍava or the region about Khāṇḍavaprastha or Indraprastha (Delhi) made up the southern half of this altar; Tūrghna its northern half; Pariṇah the lower half and the Marus of the Marwar desert its rubbish pit.

The position of Khāṇḍava and Marus is not uncertain. Tūrghna is apparently a scribal error for Srughna[26] which was the region about Jagadhri with its head-quarters at the present village of Sugh situated on the western Yamunā Canal at a distance of about 5 kms. to the east of Jagadhri town in district Ambala.[27] Pariṇah has been identified with Parenos of Arrian, a tributary of the Indus[28] but this identification does not appear to be plausible. The place or more correctly the region, should be located about the Sirsa-Hissar-Hanumangarh tract to satisfy the description of being the lower half of Kurukṣetra if the upper half is placed in Srughna. Anyhow, the geographical picture is clear enough from this description and the ancient Kurukṣetra can be roughly equated with the present territories of Haryana and the contiguous part of the Punjab possibly extending upto the Sutlej. The age of the Āraṇyakas was close enough to Buddha to justify the acceptance of this definition of the Kuru for our purpose.

It would, therefore, be most appropriate to look for the Kuru towns visited by the Buddha in this part of the country as is evident from the location of those whose identification admits of no doubt.

The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, which is known to have come into existence probably by the second or first century B.C.[29] describes a long journey of the Buddha in the company of Ānanda. The Buddha went from Hastināpura through Mahānagara, Srughna, Brāhmaṇagrāma and Kālanagara to Rohitaka where he summoned the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi and travelled with him to the north-west through Gāndhāra as far as Uḍḍiyāna and back.[30] Frauwallner,[31] however, suspects that the last lap of the journey from Rohitaka to the north-west and back in the company of Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, a supernatural being, is an interpolation. Even Ānanda feels surprised to hear about it from the Buddha.[32] Joshi takes note of this journey without pronouncing on its authenticity or otherwise.[33] This issue is not material for our purpose since we intend to concern ourselves only with the places lying within the limits of Kurukṣetra. Another town that finds mention in the same work is Bhadraṅkara, capital of the Janapada bearing identical name. Buddha's visit to this town is described in the *Divyāvadāna* too. The *Divyāvadāna* also mentions visits to Hastināpura and Srughna which apparently refer to journeys undertaken on different occasions.

Buddha's visits to two Kuru towns of Ṭhallakoṭṭhita and Kammāsadamma have received special importance in Buddhist literature and find repeated mention in works like the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Avadānaśataka* and the Nikāyas. At least two villages visited by Buddha, both named Thūṇā have been described as Brāhmaṇagrāmas in several works apart from the *Vinaya* but it is possible to differentiate between them since one is located in the Mallajanapada and the other on the western boundary of Majjhimadesa. The Master's visits to the Uttarakurus refer to the region generally while a journey to a Kauravya town is also mentioned without specifically naming it. This Kauravya town is most probably Indapatta where a Kauravya dynasty of Yudhiṣṭhira gotra is said to have been ruling.

The Buddha thus visited at least nine towns in the Kurus and we shall now take up each one of these separately for the purpose of identification.

(i) Hastināpura : The *Divyāvadāna* describes this city as rich, prosperous and populous, beautified with a big lake full of lotuses, swans and cranes and ruled by King Mahādhana of Uttarapañcāla.[34] According to the *Lalitavistara*, it was ruled by a king of the Pāṇḍava race, valiant, most beautiful and glorious among conquerors.[35] When Buddha visited it he was approached and praised by an excellent Brāhmaṇa.[36] The city has also been mentioned as Hatthipura or Hatthinīpura in Buddhist literature.[37]

According to Purāṇic[38] and Jain[39] traditions, it was founded by King Hasti on the bank of Gaṅgā. Thanks to its strategic situation and the importance given to it in Indian literature of all ages its identification poses no problem. It was situated 22 miles north-east of Meerut in tahsil Mawana and south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of the Gaṅgā.[40] Archaeological excavations at the site have produced Pointed Grey Ware and Northern Black Polished Ware testifying to the emergence of a comfortable and organised city life by the first-half of the first millennium B.C.[41]

(ii) Mahānagara : Mahānagara was obviously an adjective used for the name of a town which' was probably well-known at the time of the compilation of the *Vinaya.* At one place[42] it has been used to qualify Rohitaka also, but this is certainly not the case in the journey described in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* where Buddha reaches Rohtak last of all. Nor can it be identified with Hastināpura[43] which has been separately mentioned in the beginning of the same passage. The arrangement of the place-names in this itinerary places Mahānagara on the way from Hastināpura to Srughna near Jagadhri in district Ambala. This would suggest that the reference is probably to Indraprastha, capital of Kuru Kingdom, also well-known to Buddhist literature as Indapatta or Indapattana. The site of the ancient town has been located and excavated near the Old Fort in New Delhi leading to the discovery of P.G.W.[44] In the Mahāsutasoma[45] and Vidhurapaṇḍita[46] Jātakas it has been mentioned as seven *yojanas* in extent. It lay on the trade route leading from Aṅga, Magadha, Videha, Kosala and Varanasi toward Takṣaśilā and beyond.[47]

(iii) Srughna : Buddha's visit to Srughna finds mention in the story of the Brāhmaṇa named Indra who belonged to this town. Although he boasted of having no peer in beauty, youth and learning he was won over to the Faith and placed himself at the Buddha's mercy.[48] Srughna is a city of great antiquity and as already noted, finds mention in the *Tuittirīya Āraṇyaka.* It was rightly identified by Cunningham[48a] with the village of Sugh which stands 30°9′ N 77° 23′ E on the high road leading from the Gangetic doab via Meerut, Saharanpur and Ambala to the upper Punjab[49] and has yielded N. B. P., P. G. W. and Red Ware in excavations carried out by Devendra Handa, Suraj Bhan and the Punjab University.[50] As already noted it was visited by Hiuen Tsang also.

(iv) Brāhmaṇagrāma : As already observed the reference in the *Vinaya* does not give the proper name of this town, only describes it as village of Brāhmaṇas under this adjective. One Brāhmaṇagrāma named Thūṇā is mentioned in the

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Jātakas[51] as situated between Mithilā and Himavanta. Another reference, probably to the same village, here given as located in Kosala, is available in the *Vimānavatthu.*[52] Apparently the same village is described in the *Udāna*[53] clearly as situated in the country of the Mallas of the east. The Brāhmaṇagrāma of the *Nidāna*, located in the Madhyadeśa,[54] again appears to be the same town. Since the village meant in these references has nothing to do with the Kurus, there can be no question of its equation with Sthāneśvara.[55]

The Brāhmaṇagrāma of the *Vinaya* was entirely a different town as it was situated in the Kurus. Most probably it is identical with the town named Thūṇā which has also been described as a Brāhmaṇagrāma and located on the western boundary of Madhyadeśa in the *Mahāvagga*[56] and the *Divyāvadāna.*[57] The latter actually mentions two Brāhmaṇa villages called Sthūṇā and Upasthūṇā. Upasthūṇā was obviously a small habitation on the outskirts of the main town. S.N. Majumdar[58] has identified this Sthūṇā with Sthāṇvīśvara "as Hiuen Tsang's account makes Thanesar the western-most boundary of the Buddhist Middle country". Majumdar argues that Sthūṇā and Sthāṇu seem to be different forms of the same word, such metathesis of vowels being found in Pali and Prakrit, while Īśvara, the second part of Sthāṇvīśvara (now Thanesar) is redundant, it being identical in meaning with Sthāṇu (Śiva). The reasoning, although not quite flawless, became acceptable in the absence of a better alternative and this identification has been generally adopted by scholars.[59]

The main objection to this identification is that Hiuen Tsang's reference is not very clearly to Thanesar as Watters has shown.[60] Even if it is accepted as such, there is no reason to conclude that Hiuen Tsang took this town as the western boundary of Madhyadeśa. Nor can it be so described with any sense of accuracy. The conventional western boundary of Madhyadeśa was Vinaśana[61] or the region of the Sarasvatī's disappearance in the sands. Thūṇā's location does not match with Thanesar and it would be more logical to place it further towards the west if possible. Also the suggested change of Sthāṇvīśvara to Sthāṇu or Sthūṇā is not supported from usage in literature. The earliest mention of the name Sthāṇvīśvara appears as late as the *Harṣacarita*[62] of Bāṇa in the 7th century A.D. and the phonetic change in the form of the name has reached its prevailing form Thanesar only through Sthāneśvara. There is of course a small tank about half a km. to the north of the city near the Sarasvatī which is called Sthāṇutīrtha[63] but it never acquired enough importance even to rank with the sacred tanks of Sannihati and Brahmasara, not to talk of lending its name to the town. It is thus not possible to enlist the philological process of metathesis in support of Sthūṇā's equation with Sthāṇvīśvara.

In this context the town of Tohana might appear to meet the requirements of the situation better. It lies further west on the eastern side of the Sarasvatī in district Hissar. It is a very ancient town and was already well known by the time of Pāṇini who mentions it as Tauṣāyaṇa.[64] The linguistic similarity between Thūṇā and Tohana is not difficult to see. And finally, as the identification of Kālanagara will show, it fell on the route taken by the Buddha in his journey to Rohtak. Tohana thus appears to have a better claim to identification with Thūṇā.

(v) Kālanagara : No attempt has been made so far to identify this town. It is undoubtedly the present town of Kalānaur which lies at 32° 0′ N and 75° 10′ E′ 12 miles west of Rohtak on the road to Bhiwani.[65] The linguistic evolution of the name from Kālanagara to Kalānaur needs no explanation and its location on an old mound makes it most likely the town to have been visited by the Buddha on his way from Thūṇā or Tohana to Rohtak. It is undoubtedly a place of antiquity and the association of the name with the Ponwar chiefs[66] is as apocryphal as the association of the Lodis with Ludhiana[67] and of the Pathans with Pathankot.[68]

(vi) Rohitaka : Rohitaka, now Rohtak, 28° 54′ N and 76° 35′ E is the headquarters of the district and tehsil of the same name. This town is quite familiar to Indian literature. Its antiquity goes back to pre-historic times archaeologically and at least to the Brāhmaṇas in literature.[69] Apart from the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins it is known to the *Divyāvadāna* as a fabulously prosperous town.[70] It was the seat of the Bahudhānyaka Yaudheyas and their Mattamayūraka warriors bravely defended it against Nakula during his *digvijaya* march in the west. Its artists, musicians and traders travelled far and wide.[71] It is interesting to note that the district-wise Census of 1911 records the highest number of Buddhists in Haryana and Punjab in Rohtak.[72]

(vii) Bhadraṅkara : Bhaiṣajyavastu of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*[73] gives a detailed account of the conversion by the Buddha of Gṛhapati Meṇḍhaka of Bhadraṅkara, capital of the republic (*gaṇa*) of the same name. An almost identical version of this account finds place in the *Divyāvadāna*.[74] The name of this town also figures at the second place in the account of the journeys of Jīvaka in the Cīvaravastu of the *Vinaya*[75] along with Takṣaśilā, (Bhadraṅkara), Udumbara, Rohitaka, Mathurā, Yamunā, Vaiśālī and Rājagṛha *etc*. The story of Meṇḍhaka's conversion, in both the above noted versions, refers to an independent visit of the Buddha in the company of Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi while in Jīvaka's account the town is mentioned for a stopover during his long trek in the Punjab involving demonstrations of his prodigious medical skill at various places.

On the basis of a verse[76] that counts a tribe called Madrakāra among the Śālvāvayavas or members of the Śālva confederacy, Przyluski[77] identifies Bhadraṅkara as the name of a republic with Madra and as the name of its capital with Śākala which he further equates with Bhadrapura through a devious equation with Bhadrakāra and Madrakāra in a laboured essay involving many gratuitous assumptions and far-fetched interpretations. Firstly, it must be noted that

Madrakāra as the name of a tribe occurs only in one solitary verse in the whole range of early Indian literature and there too it is not the sole and undisputed reading.[78] This would certainly not have been the case had it been in use as another name of the Madras who were a well known ancient tribe frequently mentioned in literature. The reading Madrakāra would, therefore, appear to be a most natural scribal error in place of Bhadrakāra once the close similarity in the forms of the letters *bha* and *ma* is realised. Secondly, Przyluski is unable to point out any specific town bearing a name that could be traced back to Bhadraṅkara or Bhadrapura both of which have linguistically nothing common with Sākala. Thirdly, there is little justification to attribute arithmetical accuracy to the contents of a work which deals with diverse themes including mythical stories, fables and parables[78a] and to insist that the sequence of place-names given in the *Vinaya* strictly represents the route followed by Jīvaka several centuries earlier and that therefore Bhadraṅkara must be located next to and not far from Takṣaśilā when such a conclusion runs counter to evidence provided by other independent and more reliable sources. Przyluski's hypothesis is, therefore, not tenable.

The equation of Bhadraṅkaras with Bhadrakāras of the Śālva group, however, admits of no doubt and accordingly they must be located near their sister tribes all of which embraced the Shivalik range all along its length from the Gaṅgā in the east to the Ravi in the north-west.[79]

The Bhadrakāras have been equated with the Bhadras[80] and Uttamabhadras[81] also. At least three of the Purāṇas know them as a people of the Madhyadeśa.[82] At one place the *Mahābhārata*[83] specifically names them with the Śālvas and the Bodhas. At another place[84] it brackets them with the Bodhas and Śaradaṇḍas. It also appears to describe them as inhabitants of the mountains which agrees well with the description of Bhadraṅkara town in the story of Meṇḍhaka as a fort with a protecting rampart.[85] The Śaradaṇḍas occupied roughly the Naraingarh subdivision of Ambala district while the Bodhas lay between the Ghaggar and the Sutlej in the tract stretching from Panjaur to Rupar. The Bhadraṅkaras or Bhadrakāras, being their neighbours, most probably occupied the hilly portion of the Ghaggar-Sutlej *doab*, around the erstwhile State of Bilaspur with their capital on the latter river where it survives in the name Bhakra, of the town near which the prestigious Bhakra Dam stands. The transition from Bhadraṅkara or Bhadrakāra to Bhakra is not philologically unsound.[86] It is also interesting to note that Bhadraṅkara is described as lying on the outskirts of the Madhyadeśa[87] which too matches with the situation of Bhakra located 31° 20′ N and 76° 25′ E right on the eastern bank of the Sutlej.

(viii) Ṭhullakoṭṭhita : This important town was the seat of the contemporary Kauravya King ruling in the Kurus. He had a beautiful garden named Migacīra nearby. The town was a prosperous market-place surrounded by rich and fertile country, plentiful in grains which kept the stores of the inhabitants always full, thereby earning it the name "Ṭhullakoṭṭhita as explained by Buddhaghoṣa.[88] Aśvaghoṣa[89] gives the name as Sthūlakoṣṭhaka and records the initiation of Rāṣṭrapāla, sthavira of a local Vaiśya family, by the Buddha who delivered the *Raṭṭhapālasutta* here. Raṭṭhapāla is also described as having contributed some verses to the *Theragāthā* and converted King Koravya to Buddhism.[90] In the *Avadānaśataka*[91] he is named as the handsome nephew—brother's son—of the Koravya King who was protecting his subjects, the prosperous people of Sthūlakoṣṭhaka like his own progeny. With his group of Bhikṣus the Buddha enters the town where the prince falls at his feet and prays for initiation. The story also finds mention in the *Majjhimanikāya*[92] where Raṭṭhapāla initiates his parents after his own initiation. The name of the town is here alternately spelled as Thullakaṭṭhika also. The *Madhuratthavilāsinī*[93] mentions this town for its two Brāhmaṇas Bhaddasāla and Vijitamitta who get initiation along with their families.

This town has not been identified so far because scholars looked for it in wrong places.[94] It was situated in Kurukṣetra and we have to look for it in the region of Srughna and Thūṇā. So we find the old name surviving in the name of the twin village of Thol Kurri, 30° 10′ N and 76° 40′ E on the road leading from Ambala City to Thanesar-Kurukṣetra via Jhansa. It is a big village over-looked by a huge mound which spared for long by nature is unfortunately being destroyed fast by man. The village enjoys considerable prestige in rural areas of the region and is an acknowledged P.G.W. and E.H. Site.[95] An ancient trade-route probably passed through it to Thanesar. The philological equation of Ṭhullakoṭṭhita and Thol Kurri fully supports the identification.

(ix) Kammāsadamma : This celebrated trade-centre was visited by the Buddha more than once. On one of the visits he stayed in the Agniśālā of a Bhāradvāja Brāhmaṇa and according to the Māgandiyasutta of the *Majjhimanikāya*,[96] converted Māgandiya, a Brāhmaṇa of Kuru country, after a long discussion. The latter was so deeply impressed by the Buddha that he offered him the hand of his beautiful daughter Māgandiyā in marriage which could not be accepted. A number of important discourses like the Māgandiyasutta, the Satipaṭṭhānasutta, and the Anañjasappāyasutta of the *Majjhimanikāya*,[97] the Mahānidānasutta and the Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta of the *Dīghanikāya*[98] and a discourse each on religious topics of the *Saṁyuttanikāya*[99] and *Aṅguttaranikāya*[100] were also delivered here. It was the residence of the nuns Nanduttarā and Nittakalikā.[101] The name is spelled as Kalmāṣadamya in the *Divyāvadāna*[102] and *Buddhacarita*[103] but in the Jātakas two separate villages are named as Cullakammāsadamma[104] and Mahākammāsadamma[105] of which the former was in Kampilla and the latter in the Kurus.[106] According to the *Jayaddisa Jātaka*, the town came to be known as Kammāsadamma because at this place the Boddhisattva, once born as a son of Jayaddisa of Kampilla, subdued his other son called Kammāsapāda on account of a wound (*kammāsa*) on his foot (*pāda*)—who had turned into a cannibal due to the evil influence of a Yakṣiṇī. In this form the name is also interpreted to suggest that the place was a training ground for draught horses[107] but the suggestion appears to be rather far-fetched. In the *Sutasomajātaka* the name is attributed to the taming of Kalmāṣapāda Yakṣa here by the Bodhisattva born as Sutasoma. A similar explanation is offered by Buddhaghoṣa[108] who gives the name as Kammāsadhamma which originated from the initiation of the demon Kammāsa into Kurudhamma, the celebrated faith of the Kuru people.

Now the characters involved in these stories of the origin of the name have been undoubtedly drawn from Brāhmaṇic sources.[109] Kalmāṣapāda is well-known to the Epics and the Purāṇas as a King of the Ikṣvāku family. It was another name of Mitrasaha, son of Sudāsa. Mitrasaha was turned into a demon by the curse of Vasiṣṭha whom, through the machinations of Viśvāmitra, he had unwittingly served human flesh or according to another account by the curse of Śakti, son of Vasiṣṭha, whom he had struck with a whip. In retaliation the King also took water in his hands and prepared to pronounce a curse on Vasiṣṭha but was dissuaded by his wife Madayantī. To save the earth from being scorched and the sky from the drying up of clouds from the touch of the water he threw it on his own feet which became spotted; hence his name "spotted feet" (Kalmāṣapāda). The rest of the story is not relevant for our purpose and it may be noted that it does not connect Kalmāṣapāda with the name of any town as its Buddhist version does.

It has been suggested that this town Kammāsadamma could be identified with village Kamaspur or Kumaspur about seven miles into the Haryana territory across the Yamunā from Baghpat in Meerut district.[110] The suggestion is not tenable for the simple reason that barring the similarity of Kamas and Kammassa there is nothing else to commend it. Nor does it explain the change of *damma* to *pur*. Another identification with Kaithal or Kapiṣṭhala[111] cannot be taken seriously in the absence of any justification whatsoever.

Even if the fanciful stories of the origin of the name are not taken too seriously, it would be too much to ignore the tradition connecting the name of Kalmāṣapāda with the town. The name in its original form was then either Kalmāṣadhāma, an abbreviated form of Kalmāṣapādadhāma, or Kalmāṣadamana. Even if we accept it as Kalmāṣadamya, it does not make much of a difference phonetically. Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda and his father Sudāsa are connected with Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra[112] who, according to the *Mahābhārata*, had their hermitages on the Sarasvatī, the former on its left bank near Sthāṇutīrtha on the north-east outside Thanesar[113] and the latter on its right bank further down near Pṛthūdaka or Pehowa.[114] It would then be natural to find a village apparently connected with Kalmāṣapāda in this area.

Kamoda is most likely to be such a village. It is situated 29° 55′ N and 76° 40′ E[115] about 15 kms. from Thanesar on the road to Pehowa,[116] not far from the Sarasvatī river. It is a very old village having a shrine to Kāmeśvara Mahādeva with two brick *ghāṭs* and two brick temples. The most frequented spot in the village is a small brick cell which is called *Draupadī kā Bhaṇḍāra*, where Draupadī, the wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, is said to have prepared dinner for her husbands.[117] Due to the association of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas with the region almost every second village in the country around Thanesar-Kurukṣetra has come to be connected with them in one way or the other. But this too is certain that most of these villages are very old and carry names which can be often traced to their Sanskrit originals. The association of the place with Pāṇḍavas, therefore, only provides an additional ground in support of its antiquity and strengthens the possibility of its connection with Kalmāṣapāda. And finally the names Kalmāṣadhāma, Kalmāṣadamana, Kammassadhamma or Kammāsadamya do make a reasonably plausible phonetic equation with Kamoda. This identification thus does not run counter to any of the required ingredients of historical, geographical and linguistic considerations.

As already noted, apart from his travels in the region of the Kurus, the Buddha paid several visits to the region lying to its north and described in literature as the Uttarakurus. According to the *Vinayapiṭaka*, when the Buddha went to Uruvelā to initiate three Sādhus into the Faith Uruvela, Kaśyapa was performing a great sacrifice and wanted him to leave. Out of consideration for him Buddha left for Uttarakurus where he went around for alms, took bath in the Anotatta lake and then took meals and rested at its bank.[118] Again when a famine befell Verañjā, Buddha visited the Uttarakurus on the request of Sthavira Mahāmoggallāna. Actually the region was visited by many monks and journeys to the Anotatta lake by Sthaviras are recorded right upto the time of Aśoka.[119]

The Anotatta lake has been described in the *Papañcasūdanī* as surrounded by five hills and mountains namely Sudassana, Citrakūṭa, Kālakūṭa, Gandhamādana and Kailāsa. The Sudassanakūṭa which was of golden colour, stood covering it.[120] It has been rightly identified with the celebrated Mānasarovara[121] as the description of the flora around it agrees with the Himalayan region.[122] If it was situated in the Uttarakurus, as it undoubtedly was, the equation of the region with Siberia has to be ruled out. We do not intend to dilate on the identification of the Uttarakurus here, but we do want to invite attention to the fact that the region has been described as inhabited by Yakṣas and ruled by Kubera Vaiśravaṇa[123] whose capital Alakā is traditionally placed near mount Kailash and lake Mānasarovar.[124]

We are, therefore, of the view that the Uttarakurus denoted the region lying to the north of the Kurus and extending into the high Himalayas. The confusion about the location of the Uttarakurus has resulted from the reference in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VIII. 14.4 which describes it as *pareṇa himavantam* usually translated as 'beyond the Himalayas'.[125] All that we want to say here is that *pareṇa* can be—and should be—rendered as 'opposite to'[126] which alone suits the location of the Uttarakurus as described in literature.

The account given above shows how seriously the Buddha exerted in the propagation of his teachings. He extensively toured the Kurus visiting at least nine of their important towns out of which six namely Mahānagara, Brāhmaṇagrāma, Kālanagara, Bhadraṅkara, Ṭhulla-Koṭṭhita and Kammāsadamma, have been identified here on historical and philological considerations. The Buddha travelled even in the Himalayan tracts of the Uttarakurus where his journeys must have entailed considerable hardship.

It may be observed that the Buddha's labours in the Kurus made little impact immediately. Tall claims of large scale conversions to Buddhism in this region are highly exaggerated.[127] Buddhaghoṣa[128] candidly declares that not a single Vihāra had been set up in the Kurus during the Master's life-time and in the absence of a fixed place of residence he was obliged to stay in the *āśrama* of a Brāhmaṇa or in the forest outside Kammāsadamma. Evidently this remark reflects the situation generally in the Kurus because already by the time of Candragupta Maurya one finds no evidence to suggest noticeable prevalence of Buddhism in the Punjab.[129] Afterwards too, as we have seen in the account of Hiuen Tsang, Buddhism failed to make much headway in the region even temporarily, undoubtedly due to the unshakable hold of Hinduism.

All that one could say is that the Buddha, during his own life-time, did make a determined beginning towards the propagation of the Faith in the Kurus[130] but it completely failed to take the form of a mass movement and at its best resulted only in sporadic conversions here and there leading to the setting up of stray monasteries in a few prominent towns.

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39. *Vividhatīrthakalpha of Jinaprabhasūri*, 1st part, Ed. Jinavijaya, Shantiniketan 1934, p. 27 and p. 94, v. 3.
40. Dey, N.L., *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 3rd ed. Delhi 1971, p. 74.
41. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, *Early India and Pakistan*, London 1968, pp. 31 and 132.
42. *Divyāvadāna*, Supriyāvadānam, p. 67f.
43. Upadhyaya, p. 341.
44. Wheeler, p. 132.
45. Fausboll, Vol. V, p. 456ff (no. 537).
46. Fausboll, Vol. VI, p. 255ff (no. 645).
47. Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, Delhi 1977, pp. 17, 18, 53 and 130. Also Upadhyaya, p. 407.
48. *Divyāvadāna*, Indranāmabrāhmaṇāvadānam, p. 47.

48a. *ASIR* Vol. II, 1862-65, p. 226ff.

49. Handa, Devendra, *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. III, part i, 1971, p. 10f.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 15. n. 17.
51. Fausboll, Vol. VI, p. 30ff. *Mahājanakajātaka* (no. 539).
52. Ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, London 1942, p. 10.
53. Ed. Paul Steinthal, London 1948, p. 78
54. Fausboll, Vol. VII, Index p. 65.
55. Chaudhury, B.N., p. 32
56. Mehta, Ratilal N., *Pre-Buddhist India*, 1939, p. 399.
57. p. 13.
58. *AGI*, Intro. p. XI. iii.

59. Cf. *Geographical Essays*, p. 40. Chaudhury B.N., p. 32; *Buddhacaryā*, p. 371 *etc*.
60. Watters, I, p. 316f.
61. Law, B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India* (Hindi ed.), Lucknow 1972, p. 19ff.
62. Ed. Parab, K.P., Bombay 1912, p. 97.
63. *Mbh*. Gita Press Ed. Śalya, 42, 4.
64. Agrawal, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, 2nd ed. Varanasi 1952 p. 74.
65. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, Vol. XIV, p. 298. The name is pronounced as Kalānaur.
66. *ibid*.
67. Bharadwaj, O.P., *Purāṇa*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, July 1975, pp. 106-117 and Vol. XXI, July 1979, pp. 177-193.
68. *Kangra District Gazetteer*, Lahore 1926, p. 88. Also Hutchison and Vogel : *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. I, Lahore 1933, p. 213.
69. Bharadwaj, O.P., "The Romance of Ancient Rohtak", *Vishveshvarananda Indological Journal*, XIII (1975), Part II, pp. 17-28.
70. p. 67ff.
71. *VIJ* XIII, Pt. ii, p. 26f. Also *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 67-69, where in the story of Supriya, Magha Sārthavāha of Rohitaka takes Supriya by ship to the Badarī island.
72. Ahir, D.C., *Buddhism in the Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*, Delhi 1971, p. 84.
73. Part I, Ed. Bagchi, S. (B.S.T. No. 16), Darbhanga 1967, p. 145ff.
74. p. 77ff.
75. pp. 173 and 187. Also Gilgit Mss Vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 3 and 32.
76. *Candravṛtti* on *Candravyākaraṇa* 11.4.103, *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini IV. 1.173; and *Vaijayntikośa* 1.3.1.
77. The Śālvas, Indian Studies—*Past and Present*, Vol. II, Oct. 60 to July 61, pp. 37-64.
78. See *e.g*. Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi 1971, p. 30, for another reading Mahākāra.

78a. *Vinaya*, Intro. p. x.

79. Bharadwaj, O.P., "The Shiwalka or the Śālvakāgiri and the Śālvāvayavas", Paper presented at the A.I.O.C. Kurukṣetra Session.
80. Chaudhury, S.B., *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Calcutta 1955, p. 22.
81. *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 394.
82. Singh, M.R., *Geographical Data in the Early Purāṇas*, Calcutta 1973, p. 78.
83. Sabhā, 14.26.
84. Droṇa, 23.68.
85. *Vinaya*, pp. 146, 148.

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86. Bhadraṅkara is also spelled as Bhadraṅkāra. The identification has been dealt with fully by us in paper mentioned supra n. 79.
87. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 78.
88. quoted by Chaudhury, B.N., p. 31.
89. *Buddhacarita*, 21.26. Cited by Upadhyaya, p. 407.
90. *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 22.
91. Ed. Vaidya, P.L., Darbhanga 1958, p. 227.
92. Ed. Kashyap, J., Nalanda 1952, Vol II, p. 281ff.
93. Ed. Horner, I.B., Oxford 1976, p. 186.
94. Upadhaya, p. 407.
95. Suraj Bhan, *Haryana Studies in History and Culture*, Kurukshetra 1968, p. 135. The name is pronounced as Ṭhoḷa Kuraḍī.
96. Vol. II (i), p. 198ff. Also *Divyāvadāna*, p. 446.
97. Vol. II, p. 198ff.; Vol. I. 76ff.; and Vol. III, p. 56ff.
98. Ed. J. Kashyap, Nalanda 1958, Vol. II. 44ff. and II, p. 217ff.
99. Vol. II, 107f.
100. Vol. V. p. 29f.
101. Chaudhury B.N., p. 31.
102. p. 515f.
103. 21.27. Cited by Upadhyaya, p. 408.
104. Fausboll, Vol. V. p. 21ff *Jayaddisa Jātaka* (no. 518).
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106. Cf. Upadhyaya, p. 408.
107. Law, *Early Texts*, p. 36.
108. Upadhyaya, p. 409.
109. Cf. Walker Benjamin, *Hindu World*, Vol. II, London 1968, p. 512ff.
110. Upadhyaya, p. 410.
111. Ahir, p. 14.
112. Cf. Pargiter F.E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Reprint, Delhi 1972, pp. 207ff.
113. *Mbh.*, Śalya. 42.
114. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XIV. p. 103. A large mound known as Viśvāmitra kā Tīlā is situated about a mile above Pehowa on the bank of the Sarasvati, See D.B. Spooners *ASIR*. 1921-22, p. 46f.
115. *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*, Delhi 1950, Vol. I. 569.
116. Mathur V.K , *Sthānāvalī*, Delhi 1969, p. 183.
117. *ASIR* XIV, p. 100.
118. Upadhyaya, pp. 68 and 88.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
120. Buddhaghoṣa, p. 106.
121. Law, *Historical Geography*, p. 143.

122. *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, pp. 9, 187 and 290 *etc*.
123. Sircar, D.C., *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, Calcutta 1967, p. 42f.
124. *Sthānāvalī* p. 41.
125. Vide Martin Baug's translation, Varanasi 1977, Vol. II, p. 518.
126. Vide Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Reprint, Delhi, p. 586, col. 1.
127. See *Avadānaśataka*, p. 67; *Saṁyuttanikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 92-93 and 107ff; *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. V, pp. 29-32 cited by Barua. Nikāyas, p. 306; *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, p. 186 *etc*.
128. *Papañcasūdanī* cited by Law, *Tribes*, p. 22.
129. Cf. *History of the Punjab*, p. 277.
130. Cf. *ibid*., p. 197.

16

Who were the Bhadanakas ?

The Bhādānakas appear as an important power[1] on the map of Indian history in the beginning of the medieval period.

Rājaśekhara (A.D. 900)[2] groups them with the Ṭakkas and all other countries of the Marus as a people whose speech had an admixture of Apabhraṁśa usage.[3] The *Skandapurāṇa* (A.D. 900),[4] in its list of countries with the number of grāmas contained in each one of them, describes Bhādānaka as a kingdom having one lakh villages.[5] According to the Bijolia inscription[6] of Cāhamāṇa Someśvara (v. 1226) the Bhādānapati or the lord of the Bhādānakas was deprived of his lustre by Vigraharāja IV of Ajmer.[7]

The *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla[8] records a contest between Jinapati Sūri and Pt. Padmaprabha during which the former, asked to describe the victory of Pṛthvīrāja over the lord of the Bhādānakas, composes a verse on the spot. In the *Sakalatīrthastotra*[9] of Siddhasenasūri the Bhayānadesa (Bhādānakadeśa) is mentioned along with its two Jaina tīrthas Kammaga and Siroha and placed between Kannauj and Harṣapura. Dr. Dasharath Sharma[10] refers to another work *Sambhavanāthacarita* of Tejapāla which, according to its *praśasti*, was written at Siripaha (Śrīpatha or Bayana) an important town and probably the capital of the Bhādānakadeśa during the reign of Daud Shah Auhadi who was confirmed as a ruler in A.D. 1454 by Mahmud Khalji of Malwa.

On the basis of this evidence, Dr. Sharma[11] equated the territory of Bhādānakas at the time of Pṛthvīrāja's attack, with the region comprising "the present Rewari tehsil, Bhiwani and its adjoining villages and a part of the Alwar state." Later[12] he more accurately defined it as "bounded in the south-east by the Chambal and the Gwalior principality of the Kachhapaghāṭas, in the north-east by the Yamunā and the Kingdom of the Gāhaḍvālas and on the other sides by the powerful Cāhamāṇa empire of Sapādalakṣa." Dr. Sharma rightly thought that Bhādānaka changed to Bayana of the Muslim writers through its Apabhraṁśa form Bhayānaya.[13] Correspondingly, after first having identified them with the Ahirs on account of their use of Apabhraṁśa and resistence to the Chauhan rulers Vigraharāja IV and Pṛthvirāja III he had subsequently to equate them with the Yādava Śūrasenas[14] or western Śūrasenakas[15] on the assumption that this dynasty ruled at Śrīpatha upto V. 1012 (A.D. 955).[16]

Dr. Buddha Prakash[17] has rightly pointed out the absence of evidence to connect the Bhādānakas with Ahirs. That the speech of the Ahirs too was mixed with Apabhraṁśa and that they had also come into conflict with the Cāhamāṇas are not, in themselves, sufficient considerations to justify an identification. The peculiarity about the speech was common to most of the desert countries (*sakalamarubhuvaḥ*) and it has never been suggested that the Ahirs were the only people to oppose the Cāhamāṇas.

Besides, Dr. Sharma has no answer to the why, when and how of the implied change of the name Ābhīra or Ahir to Bhādānaka. The identification with Yādava Śūrasenas is also a mere conjecture. Even if the assumption that this dynasty ruled at Śrīpatha is accepted as correct, it fails to explain the application of the name Bhādānaka or Bayana to the region and the tribe. Nor can we rule out the possibility of the Yādava Śūrasenas temporarily overpowering the Bhādānakas and controlling Śrīpatha.

Buddha Prakash[18] himself equates the Bhādānakas with the Bhadras or Madras, originally believed to be an Indo-Iranian people, who, on being pushed down by the Indo-Greeks in the wake of Alexander's invasion, gradually moved from west Punjab and eventually came to settle in Hariyana in the region of Rewari, Bhiwani, Gurgaon and a part of the Alwar State. The dubious equation of Bhadra>Bhadānā>Bhādānaka offered by him cannot be accepted. To be sure Bhādānaka is supposed to give Bhadānā and not vice versa. The transition from Haritānaka or Hariyānaka to Hariana provides an exact parallel on this point.[19] The location of the Bhadras in the Rewari-Bhiwani region is also a purely gratuitous presumption. Bhadras have been rightly equated with the Bhadrakāras[20] or Madrakāras who are counted among the Śālva group of tribes (Sālvāvayavas)[21] and have been located in the region of Bhakra.[22] Finally, the *Skandapurāṇa* distinctly mentions Bhayānaka or Bhādānaka and Bhadra as two separate regions—the former having one lakh villages against only 10 thousand of the latter.[23] The Bhādānaka-Bhadra equation too is therefore absolutely untenable.

So is the hypothesis of Dalal and Sastri[24] who equate the Bhādānaka country with Vāṭadhāna and locate it somewhere between Vinaśana and the Śatadru.

K.D. Bajpai[25] appears to agree with this view while placing them near Rajasthan or Marwar. However, as we have already seen, Sharma[26] has fairly closely defined the territory of the Bhādānakas which may be roughly called the region around Bayana. Contrary to this the *Mahābhārata* Sabhāparva,[27] in its description of Nakula's conquest of the western regions starting from Khāṇḍavaprastha, mentions Vāṭadhāna after Rohtak, Sirsa, Mahottha, Śibis, Trigartas, Ambaṣṭhas, Mālavas, Pañcakarpaṭas and Mādhyamikas. In the Bhīṣmaparva list of Janapadas[28] it is placed between the Bālhikas and the Ābhīras which fully agrees with the Purāṇas. Pargiter[29] is, therefore, right in assigning the Vāṭadhānas to the east side of the Sutlej which supports V.S. Agrawal in their identification with the present town of Bhatinda[30] situated in relation to Delhi in a direction quite opposite to that of Bayana. In face of this evidence the impossibility of connecting Vāṭadhāna with the region between Bulandshaher and Jumna hills[31] or Mādhyamikā near Chittaur[32] is not difficult to see. There is thus no ground for equating Bhādānaka with Vāṭadhāna even if we ignore the unfavourable historical and linguistic considerations.

Having discarded the identifications proposed so far with the Sūrasena Yādavas, Ahirs, Bhadras or Vāṭadhānas we have to explore the possibility of a more satisfactory alternative. Luckily there is enough evidence to warrant a definitive answer. And it points unmistakably towards the Bahudhānyakas, or to be more specific, the Bahudhānyaka Yaudheyas. Let us see if they measure upto the requirements.

Although in the age of the *Mahābhārata* the Yaudheya territory was restricted to the provinces of Maru and Bahudhānyaka[33] their coins have been discovered from places as far apart as the districts of Hoshiarpur and Kangra, Behat near Saharanpur; Panjya in Dehradun, Sonepat, Depalpur, Kehror, Multan, Naurangabad near Hissar and Sunet near Ludhiana, apart from Rohtak where Birbal Sahni found their mint site in the Khokrakot mound.[34] The country along the banks of the Sutlej, right upto the borders of the Bahawalpur State is still known as Jehiyawar after them.[35] The testimony of their coins, therefore, suggests that their writ, at one time, ran in the extensive territory covering the whole of eastern Punjab spilling over into parts of Rajasthan in the south, the districts of Saharanpur and Dehradun in the east and the erstwhile state of Bahawalpur in Pakistan in the west.[36]

Of their twin provinces mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* Maru can be identified with the desert of Bagar or the portion of Haryana west of Rohtak-Sirsa line and parts of Bikaner territory.[37] Bahudhānyaka has been differently equated with Northern Pañcāla[38] or the present districts of Dehradun and Saharanpur,[39] Ludhiana,[40] and the region of Rohtak and Hissar districts in Haryana.[41] The first and second views solely rest on the discovery of the Yaudheya coins and the cultivation of paddy in the area. The third view, however, finds support from evidence of decisive nature provided by the *Mahābhārata*[42] and their coins. First, Bahudhānyaka figures among the countries subjugated by Nakula in his conquest of the western direction. It was the first to fall in his march from Khāṇḍavaprastha towards Mahettha (Maham) and Śairīṣaka (Sirsa) *etc.*, which agrees with the Rohtak-Hissar area. Second, it was taken by Nakula along with its twin state of Maru in a single fierce battle when he overran Rohtak. Third, Rohtak has been described as the region beloved of god Kārttikeya who alone and also with his consort Śaṣṭhī appears as the tutelar deity of the Yaudheyas on some of their coins.[43] Fourth, the description of Rohtak in the *Mahābhārata* as Bahudhāna and Dhanadhānyavat is synonymous with Bahudhānyaka. Fifth, the Yaudheya warriors of Bahudhānyaka have been called Mattamayūrakas; the pea-cock finds place on one class of their coins[44] and Rohtak too is known for its special consideration for the pea-cock.[45] And finally, the Yaudheya mint-site of the Khokra Kot mound adjoining Rohtak yielded thousands of coin-moulds particularly of that class of their coins which carries the legend 'Yaudheyānām Bahudhānyake'[46] clearly showing that they were struck in the place and the country bearing the name Bahudhānyaka. The identification accepted by Prof. Agrawal must, therefore, be taken as final.

It is erroneously believed that the Yaudheya-power was completely destroyed by Samudragupta and that they vanished from the scene of Indian history about the close of the fifth century of the Christian era.[47] In reality they only accepted the overlordship of Samudragupta and paid him tribute while retaining their separate entity as a state.[48]

The Yaudheyas were indeed an exceptionally brave people who managed to survive through great vicissitudes in their political fortunes during the long span of almost two thousand years. They were already a republic of some importance by the sixth century B.C. Pāṇini[49] notes them among the Āyudhajīvisaṅghas or warrior-classes. The *Mahābhārata* presents them as allies of the Kauravas.[50] A number of Purāṇas mention them as the progeny of king Nṛga, son of Uśīnara of the Anu dynasty.[51] The Girnar inscription (A.D. 150) of Mahā-Ksatrapa Rudradāman I[52] acknowledges their bravery while describing them as "difficult to be controlled on account of the conceit born of their having proclaimed among all the Kṣatriyas, their title of heroes". In the Bijayagarh stone inscription[53] a benefaction of a Yaudheya military officer is recorded. The Allahabad stone-pillar inscription of Samudragupta[54] places them among people who paid tribute to Samudragupta and obeyed his commands.

The Sanskrit play *Pādatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka, which depicts the life of the last days of the Gupta empire,[55] describes a team of singers from Rohtak playing upon musical instruments and singing songs current in the country of the Yaudheyas.[56] Shortly afterwards they are mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[57] around the end of the 6th century A.D. and again in the *Yogavāśiṣṭha*, a moderately old work (about 8th century A.D.).[58] In the middle of the tenth century we find the poet Somadeva waxing eloquent in praise of the Yaudheya Janapada in his *Yaśastilakacampū.*[59] *Jasaharacariu* of Puṣpadanta, an Apabhraṁśa work of later date, also glorifies the Yaudheyadeśa most unequivocally.[60] These notices leave no doubt about the existence of the Yaudheyas during the centuries following the Guptas although there was not much remarkable about this existence barring an unbroken link with a romantic past which appealed to the fancy of the last two poets.

As a matter of fact, even as late as the middle of the 12th century A.D. we hear of a Yaudheya ruler Sinhabala of Maruketta (V.S. 1217 to 1232) whose sister Sudhavā was married to Arnerāja Cāhamāṇa of Sapādalakṣa and became the mother of his son Jagaddeva.[61] Apparently the two provinces of the Yaudheya republic drifted apart as their power declined and the Marus set up their separate seat of Government at Maruketta or Marot—a little to the north-west of Sambhar and ultimately probably adopted the monarchical form of government. Evidently they clung to their old habitat. The Bahudhānyakas continued as a republic acquiring the name of their country in the time-honoured Indian tradition if only to distinguish themselves from the Marus.[62]

The Yaudheyas are believed to have moved down into Rajasthan on account of the pressure of foreign invaders from north-west between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D.[63] These Yaudheyas were the Bahudhānyakas. Their presence in the Bharatpur-Bayana region is attested by the Bijayagarh stone-inscription. They did not yet entirely relinquish their hold over the Bahudhānyaka land. Rudradāman's claim that he had forcibly uprooted them is evidently exaggerated because seen afterwards we find them staging a vigorous come back and defeating Vāsudeva I to wrest virtually the whole of the East Punjab from the Kuṣāṇas.[64] After the Gupta period, they survived quietly and were probably again gaining in strength when the Cāhamāṇas inflicted two successive defeats on them. The second at the hands of Pṛthvīrāja proved the proverbial last straw and finished them off once and for all. The grand eloquent style of description of the victories of the Cāhamāṇas is indicative of the importance they attached to them. The Bahudhānyaka Yaudheyas never got another chance to rise.

The Yaudheya stronghold in the Bharatpur region of Rajasthan inherited the name Bahudhānyaka of their mother country which in course of time became Bayana. It would be difficult to find in the history of names a parallel to the perfect philological equation of : Bahudhānyaka>Bhādānaka>Bhayānaka (ya)> Bhādāna>Bhayāṇa>Bayānā. The unique feature in this case is that all these forms of the name are met with in the literary and archaeological references quoted above. The identification of the Bhādānakas with the Bahudhānyakas thus fully satisfies the historical, territorial and philological considerations.

One point deserves mention before we close. According to Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta[65] the Yaudheyas retired to the region of the Shiwalik hills in the neighbourhood of the Kuṇindas from north western areas of Rajputana when defeated by Rudradāman I. Whether it was so or some of them moved to the north at the same time they were pushed towards Bayana from Bahudhānyaka is difficult to say. Their presence in the Saharanpur-Dehradun tract is however not improbable. On the other hand, it would explain the name Badhānāh of a pargana in the sarkar of Saharanpur[66] as well as the discovery of a large number of their coins in the region. The country adjoining this region on the north abounded in elephants[67] which might have been helpful in the maintenance of a formidable elephant force by the Rajasthan Bhādānakas so specially noted in the *Kharatara-gacchapaṭṭāvalī.*[68] That is however, not to say that it would be impossible for them to acquire and maintain an elephant force otherwise.

Notes and References

1. Dasharath Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, New Delhi 1959, p. 59 (Abbr. *E.C.D.*)
2. A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford 1928, Preface, p. xiii.
3. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Ed. C.D. Dalal & R.A. Sastri, G.O.S. Baroda, 1934; X. 2. p. 51...

   गोडाद्या: संस्कृतस्था: परिचितरुचय: प्राकृते लाटदेश्या: ।
   सापभ्रंशप्रयोगा: सकलमरुभुव: टक्कभादानकाश्च ॥

4. A.B.L. Avasthi, *Studies in Skandapurāṇa*, Part I, Lucknow 1965, Intro. p. iv.
5. *Ibid* , p. 51.
6. Ed. A.K. Vyas, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 84-112.
7. Verse 19 :

   भादानत्वं चक्रे भादानपते: परस्य भादान: ।
   यस्य दधत्करवाल: करालतां करतलाकलित: ॥

   for a correct rendering of the verse see *E.C.D.* p. 59.
8. Vide *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvalī*, Ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Singhi Jain Granthamālā, Bombay 1956.

p. 28 : पण्डितमिश्रौ ! युवा पृथ्वीराजेन भादानकोर्वीपतिर्जित इति वर्णयतम् ।
श्रीपूज्यैः क्षणमेकमेकाग्रीभूय
यस्यान्तर्बाहुगेहं बलभृतककुभः श्रीजयश्रीप्रवेशेः ।
दीप्रप्रासप्रहारप्रहतधटतटप्रस्तमुक्तावलीभिः ।
नूनं भादानकीयैः रणभुवि करिभिः स्वस्तिकोऽपूर्यतोच्चैः
पृथ्वीराजस्य तस्यातुलबलमहसः कि वयं वर्णयामः ॥

p. 40. पृथ्वीरायपृथुप्रताप्रतपनः पत्यर्थि पृथ्वीभुजाम्
का स्पर्धा भवताऽपराध्यं (च्य) महसा सार्धं प्रजारञ्जने ।
येनाजौ हरिणेव खड्गलतिका संपृक्तिमत्पाणिना
दुर्वाराऽपि विदारिता करिघटा भादानकोर्वीपतेः ॥

9. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Mss in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan*, G.O.S. Vol. No. LXXVI, Baroda 1937, p. 156, verses 22-27.
V. 22 :

सावत्थिदुग्गमाइसु वाणारसीपमुह पुव्वदेसम्मि ।
कम्मगसिरोहमाइसु भयाणदेसम्मि वन्दामि ॥

10. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, Vol. I. Ed. Dr. Dasharath Sharma, Bikaner 1966, p. 22 (Abbr. *Rajasthan*).
11. *E.C.D.*, p. 74.
12. *Rajasthan*, p. 22.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
14. *E.C.D.*, p. 59.
15. चौहान सम्राट् पृथ्वीराज तृतीय और उनका युग । Jaipur, 1972, p. 26.
16. *Rajasthan*, p. 23.
17. The Bhādānakas of Hariyana' in *Glimpses of Hariyana*, Kurukshetra, 1967, pp. 29-32.
18. *Ibid.*
19. The Bohar (Palam Baoli) Inscr. (*J.A.S.B.* Vol. XIII-1874) dated V.S. 1337 has Hariyānaka while the Sarhan Inscr. of V.S. 1384 (*E.I.* Vol. I, p. 93ff.) gives Hariyānā.
20. B.C. Law, *Tribes In Ancient India*, Second Ed., Poona 1973, p. 394; and S.B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Calcutta 1955, p. 22. (Abbr. *E.S.A.I.*)
21. The traditional verse quoted by *Kāśikā* (IV. 1.73), *Vaijayantī* 1.3.1.38.39 and Candravṛtti on *Candravyākaraṇa* II.4.103 is :

उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः ।
भुलिङ्गाः शरदण्डाश्च षट् साल्वावयवा इमे ॥

22. O.P. Bharadwaj, 'The Shiwaliks or the Śālvakāgiri and the Śālvāvayavas', paper presented before the All-India Oriental Conference, Kurukshetra Session, 1974.
23. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Studies In The Geography of Ancient And Medieval India*, Second Ed. Delhi, 1971, p. 261f. (Abbr. *G.A.M.I.*)
24. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, n.p. 300.
25. *Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Med. India* Prt. I. A-D. Varanasi, 1967 p. 55.
26. N. 12 Supra.
27. Gita Press Ed., 32, 4-8. See. n. 42 infra.
28. Bhīṣmaparva 9, 47.
29. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Reprint Delhi, 1969, p. 319.
30. See V.K. Mathur, *Sthānāvalī*, Delhi 1969, p. 839. Also cf. O.P. Bharadwaj, "The Identification of Ludhiana On The Basis of the Epics and the Purāṇas" *Purāṇa* Vol. XVII, No. 2, July, 1975, pp. 106-117 n. 13. on p. 109; and Bhagavaddatta, *Bhāratavarṣa Kā Bṛhad Itihāsa* Vol. II, New Delhi V.S. 2017, p. 160.
31. *E.S.A.I* p. 54f.
32. *G.A.M.I* p. 32.
33. Sabhā, 32.5...see n. 42 infra.
34. Jagannath Agrawal, An Ancient Republic of the Punjab—The Yaudheyagaṇa, in *Dr. M.S. Randhawa Felicitation Volume*, Chandigarh, 1970, pp. 49-55, p. 54; Birbal Sahani, *The Technique of Casting Coins In Ancient India*, Bombay 1955, p. 7ff; Allan p. CXI VIIff and Mahesh Kumar Saran, *Tribal Coins—A Study*, Delhi, 1972 (Abbr. Saran) p. 90 *etc.*
35. Allexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924. p. 281.
36. Cf. A.S. Altekar, *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, Lahore 1946, p. 29f.
37. Jaya Chandra quoted by Birbal Sahni, *op. cit.* p. 14.
38. A.S. Altekar, *State And Government In Ancient India*, Rept. Delhi 1972, p. 119.
39. Saran, p. 88.
40. Moti Chandra; Sārthavāha, Patna, 1953, p. 16.
41. Jagannath Agrawal *op. cit.*, p. 51.
42. *Mbh.* Sabhā, 32;

> निर्याय खाण्डवप्रस्थात् प्रतीचीममितो दिशम् ।...2
> ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाढ्यं धनधान्यवत् ।
> कार्तिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ।।...4
> तत्र युद्धं महच्चासीच्छूरैः मत्तमयूरकैः ।
> मरुभूमिं स कार्त्स्न्येन तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ।।...5
> शैरीषकं महेत्थं च वशे चक्रे महाद्युतिः ।...6

शिबींस्त्रिगर्तानम्बष्ठान् मालवान् पञ्चकर्पटान् ॥...7
तथा माध्यमिकांश्चैव वाटधानान् द्विजानथ ।...8

43. *Ibid.*; cf. Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *The Cult of Skanda Kārttikeya in Ancient India*, Calcutta 1970, p. 37f; Allan, Intro. p. cxlivff. Coins of classes 3 & 6. The legend on the former is :

    भागवतस्वामिनो ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य कुमारस्य ।

    Also see, P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, Delhi 1969, p. 38; A.S. Altekar *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* p. 30; R C. Agarwal, "Six-headed Skanda on Yaudheya Coins" in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXVIII, 1966.
44. Allan, Intro. p. cl.
45. Cf. Saran, p. 135f. and Birbal Sahni, p. 15; According to Chatterjee, p. 37 and D.C. Sircar (A.I.U. p. 166) Mattamayūraka was another name of the tribe.
46. Birbal Sahni, p. 7ff.
47. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 267.
48. Jagannath Agrawal, *op. cit.* p. 55.
49. V.S. Agrawal, *India As Known to Pāṇini*, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 39, 447.
50. Cf. Jagannath Agrawal, *op. cit.* p. 49.
51. F.E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, reprint, Delhi, 1972, p. 109.
52. D.B. Diskallar, *Selections From Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Part I, Rajkot 1925, p. 2 :

    .. सर्वक्षत्राविष्कृतवीरशब्दजातोत्सेकाविधेयानां यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन...

    (Abbr. *Inscriptions*)
53. Fleet, C., 1.1. Vol. III p. 252; assigned to 3rd century A.D., D.C. Sircar in *Age of Imperial Unity*, 3rd Impression, Bombay 1960, p. 166.
54. *Inscriptions*, p. 5...
55. Ed. Moti Chandra & V.S. Agrawal in *Śṛṅgārahāṭa*, Bombay 1959, p. 6.
56. *ibid.* p. 168. : अये नु खलु रोहितकीयैर्मार्दङ्गिकैः कांस्यपत्रवेणुमिश्रं यौधेयकवर्णैरुपगीयमान...
57. Ajaya Mitra Shastri, *India As Seen In The Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi 1969, p. 106ff.
58. Keith, *H.O.S.L.* p. 480, Also : यौधेयोंका इतिहास, A.B.L. Avasthi, Lucknow 1961, p. 22.
59. Ed. Sundar Lal Shastri, Varanasi, 1960, p. 10ff. These Yaudheyas were probably the Bhādānakas of Bharatpur-Alawar tract with their central seat at Rajpur identified with Rajor or Rajargarh in Alwar district. Cf. Saran, p. 90. Evidently they shifted it later to Bayana.
60. Ed. Hira Lal Jain, Varanasi 1944, p. 4 (1.3.4 and 15.); Rahul, *Hindikāvya dhārā*, p. 190.

जोहेयउ णामि अत्थिदेसु । णं धरणिए धरियउ दिव्ववेसु ।।...
जहिं जणघणकण परिपुण्णगाम । पुरणयर सुसीमाराम साम ।।

61. *E.C.D.* p. 56. n. 1.
62. Already in the 1st-2nd century A.D. the Mahāmāyūrī mentions Yaudheya separately from Bahudhānyaka and Rohitaka. Yaudheya probably refers to the Maru Yaudheyas :
line 15 : अटव्यां आटवको यक्ष: कपिलो बहुधान्यके ।
line 21 : रोहितके कार्तिकेय: कुमारो लोकविश्रुत: ।
line 22 : वरुणायां दृढधनुर्यौधेये च पुरञ्जय: ।
Quoted by V.S. Agrawal, *Bhārat Kī Maulika Ekatā*, Allahabad, V.S. 2011, p. 107.
63. Cf. Buddha Prakash, p. 36; Saran, *op. cit*, p. 76; P.L. Gupta, *I.H.Q.* Vol. XXVII 1951, p. 206; J.N. Banerjee in '*A Comprehensive History of India*' Vol. II, Calcutta 1957, p. 125; and *E.S.A.I.* p. 121 *etc.*
64. Jagannath Agrawal, *op. cit.* p. 53; and *Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, p. 28f.
65. *Op. cit.* p. 206.
66. J.S. Jarret, *Ain-i-Akbari* (Eng. Trans.) Vol. II, Calcutta 1910, p. 105. It is interesting to note that Bahudhānyaka also appears as a place name and is associated with Kapila Yakṣa in Mahāmāyūrī verse 15 above.
67. Edward Balfour, *The Cyclopaedia of India and of Eastern And South-Eastern Asia*, Vol. III, Third Ed. Austria, 1968, p. 670.
68. Note 8 supra.

17

Restoration of Geographical Names in Northern India

An undated *Praśasti*[1] from the reign of Mahendrapāla, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of Kanauj, discovered at Pehowa and assigned to the last quarter of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century A.D., records the construction of temples of God Viṣṇu by the sons of a provincial Tomara chief Jajjuka, a descendent of King Jaūla.

Jajjuka and his three sons had entered the military service of Mahendrapāla. They built a complex of three temples at Pehowa. The temple in the middle was built by Gogga, that at the back by Pūrṇarāja and the one in front by Devarāja. For the upkeep of the three temples were assigned as endowment three villages, described in the inscription as Yakṣapālaka, Gejjara and Pāṭalā.[2]

Although, as far as we are aware, no attempt has been made so far to identify these villages, it is not very difficult to spot them. They all belong to one region which, apparently, was controlled by Jajjuka and his sons. Yakṣapālaka probably refers to the village of Jakhepal or Jakhepalbas situated 29°.50′N×75°.35′E in Sunam tehsil of district Sangrur, Gejjara is village Ghaggar lying 30°.00′N×76°.05′E and Pāṭalā stands for village Patran situated 29°.55′N×76°.02′E, both in tehsil Samana of district Patiala.[3]

These identifications provide good example of the interesting phenomenon of restoration of geographical names in the northern part of India, particularly in the medieval age. Jakhepal would appear to be the corrupt form of Yakṣapura rather than that of Yakṣapālaka to which it has been restored in the inscription. There is no place-name resembling Gejjara in the region and the reference is apparently to the village of Ghaggar, so named after river Ghaggar flowing not very far from it. The form Gejjara obviously sounds more literary than Ghaggar which is crude and rustic. The present name Patran probably originates from Pratiṣṭhāna[4] by way of Pratiṣṭhāna>Pataṭṭhāna>Pātaṭhān>Pātaḍān or Patran. The origin of the name and its historical associations having been lost, it was amended to Pāṭalā which, even if not a fitting place-name, does appear more refined linguistically. This form of the name is met with in contemporary Jain works[5] also.

Language is subject to continuous change in its spoken form. So from Sanskrit we have Pali, Prakrits, different Apabhraṁśas and finally the various current northern Indian languages and their many dialects. With the passage of time, a geographical name is also transformed and in the process often gets too far removed from its original form and thus becomes unintelligible and grammatically inexplicable. So, when later at some point of time, perchance, it comes to find place in a literary work, or public or official record the writer or the scribe concerned feels tempted to clothe it in suitable literary form and tries to refine it so as to make it look meaningful. Naturally the success of the attempt at restoration largely depends on the academic competence, historical knowledge, and level of common sense of the writer, composer or scribe, as the case may be. Several possibilities are open in his case. He may succeed in restoring the name to its true original form or barely in giving it a new literary form to satisfy the prevailing usage and grammatical norms without any relevance to its linguistic and historical past. He may even modify it so as to introduce an imaginary historical connection with some king, clan, community or tribe.

There is, of course, another equally important factor operating in the transformation of geographical names, independently of the process of linguistic evolution. This is the replacement of a name under orders of a Government who might be motivated by a desire to connect it with some personality or event or just to make it look meaningful as in the case of the re-naming of Mohali near Chandigarh to Sāhabzādā Ajit Singh Nagar, of Daulatpur-Nasīrābād in district Gurgaon to Carterpurī, and of Ropar to Rūpnagar.

The process of restoration or change is continuous and an important geographical name with a very remote origin may acquire as many 'improved' forms as the number of attempts made at restoring or replacing it at various points of time in its long life. Here we shall take note of some cases of restoration of names only through the normal processes of change involving no official interest.

(a) **Rivers**

(i) *Sutlej* : The story of the celebrated river-name now spelled as Sutlej, but pronounced as Satluj, opens with the *Ṛgveda* and makes an interesting study of repeated Sanskritisation of a form that kept changing under constant usage. The *Ṛgveda* mentions it twice as Śutudri.[6] A couple of millennia later, by about 6th century B.C. we find it changed to Śatadru in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.[7] This form

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was grammatically easier to explain as शतधा द्रवति meaning 'which flows into a hundred channels'. The *Mahābhārata*[8] also takes note of this form of the name along with its derivation. This is, in fact, the most common form of the name and occurs in the Purāṇas[9] also. Sanskrit lexicons,[10] however, record the name with slight variations as Śutudru, Śitadru and Sitadru. By about A.D. 1100, it had suffered further change and Albiruni[11] notes the spellings as Śatarudra which was probably the literary form then current in Punjab, side by side with Śatadru, if not exclusively. Satladar was the spoken form. In this form too the name was loosely spelled as Śatarudra or Śatarudrikā by the writer of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*.[12] The journey of the Sutlej from Śutudri to Śatarudrikā through Śatadru-Śutudru-Śitadru-Sitadru-Satladar and Śatarudra illustrates how the process of re-Sanskritisation of this name asserted at various stages only to be beaten by the all-powerful process of linguistic change which kept on operating even when a particular form was being refined and given a place in contemporary literature of written records.

(ii) *Somb* : It is the name of a small rainy-season *nullah* at a short distance from Jagadhri on the road to Paonṭa. It flows parallel to another sister stream called Pathrala till the two meet and flow over to the Yamunā across the western Jumna canal at the siphon of the Dadupur Canal Works. In the age of the *Ṛgveda*, there was one big perennial river in this region that rose in the Himalayas and followed a course[12a] which was later to be dug out and utilised for the western Jumna canal by Feroz Shah Tuglak. This river was named Aśmanvatī[13] or Dṛṣadvatī,[14] both meaning stony, since it brought down too much of stones in its flow. It ran westward and joined the then mighty Sarasvatī below Hanumangarh to form with it the holy *doab* of Brahmāvarta.

As a result of a major seismic-tectonic upheaval, around 3000 B.C. which might well have been the event described as the Great Flood in literature,[15] it lost its entity and its two names lived on through the Somb and Pathrala torrents on this side of the Shiwaliks and the Assan and Ashmi on the other side of this mountain range. The Assan and Ashmi joined the river Giri to reach the Yamunā above Paonta. In this upheaval, the Sarasvatī also lost a major part of her waters which were diverted to the Yamunā through the Giri.

By the time of the Purāṇas, the origin of the name Somb from Aśmanvatī was forgotten and it obviously needed a literary face-lift which the *Skanda-Purāṇa*[16] accorded by re-Sanskritising it to Sāmbhramatī which is said to have been born along with the Sarasvatī. So the Aśmanvatī became Somb only to acquire an equally refined name in Sāmbhramatī.

(b) Mountains

(i) *Shiwalik* : The name of the Shiwalik range of mountains originates from Śālvakāgiri.[17] The evolution took place through Śālvaka>Śālavaka>Śavālaka>

Shiwalik involving the metathesis of '*la*' and '*va*'. In the 12th century A.D., Shiwalik was re-Sanskritised to Sapādalakṣa which finds mention in the Gaya inscription[18] of Kulacandra of A.D. 1170 and the Buddhagaya inscription[19] of King Aśokacalla of Kumaon of A.D. 1176.

The range was named Śālvaka or Śālvakā after the formidable tribe of the Śālvas[19a] who were leaders of a confederacy of important tribes occupying the region all along the Shiwalik belt from the Gaṅgā to the Rāvī, often extending to the valley on the other side so that the range came to be inseparably associated with them for a very long span of time—possibly for a couple of millennia - from the earliest times to *circa* 7th century A.D. Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*[20] settles the location of some of these tribes definitely in describing them on the all-weather trunk-route that clung to the Himalayan foot-hills, for easy fording of the rivers before they gained in volume and developed extensive flood-plains. Starting from the eastern end they were the Śālvas themselves, the Yugandharas, Śaradaṇḍas, Bhūliṅgas, Ajamīḍhas, Ajakrandas, Bodhas, Bhadrakāras, Jābālas, Bhāṅdijaṅghis, Tilakhalas and Udumbaras.[21]

So influential indeed were the Śālvas that apart from the mountain range a river was also named Śālvi[22] after them and a number of expressions involving them were included in grammatical works like the *Kāśikā*,[23] a well-known commentary on Pāṇini. For example their king was called साल्वेयो राजा, their cow साल्वको गौः, their foot-soldier साल्वः पदातिः, a man of their tribe साल्वको मनुष्यः, their gourd साल्विका यवागूः, their laughter and speech साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं and the roots produced in their country शाल्वानि मूलानि. In the heyday of their power and glory they are recorded to have pushed out even the great Kurus from their time-honoured stronghold of Kurukṣetra.[24]

Like innumerable other tribes including their confederates the Śālvas eventually vanished into the melting pot of time and with them was lost and forgotten the genesis of the name Śālvaka. So when Babur entered India the name Shiwalik was explained to him as Savālakha, meaning a mountain range of 1¼ Lakh hills.[25] Of course, this new idea must have gained currency in the region some time before Babur's arrival and the re-Sanskritisation of the name to Sapādalakṣa was now only a very small and natural step.

However, whereas the evolution from Śālvaka to Shiwalik was the result of the natural philological process of linguistic change, several important factors facilitated and aided the conversion of Shiwalik to Sapādalakṣa. These were :

(i) The disappearance of the Śālvas and their influence from the scene without any trace;

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(ii) The emergence of the political unit called Sapādalakṣa signifying a state containing $1\frac{1}{4}$ Lakh villages—It must be noted that such a unit could not be visualised in case of hills since it was based on the number of villages in a State as the list of Sapādalakṣa units given in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*[26] shows while there is no record anywhere of a Sapādalakṣā unit of hills;

(iii) The extension of the dominance of the Sākambhara Sapādalakṣa of the Cāhamāṇas[27] right up to the Shiwaliks which for that matter could even be called 'mountains of Sapādalakṣa' सपादलक्षशिखरि; and

(iv) The migration to the Shiwalik areas of a large number of Rājpūt families including members of ruling houses from various Sapādalakṣa states in Rajasthan,[28] who in all probability found it quite natural to plant the epithet of their old country on the new land of their adoption which further lent it to the mountain range.

(c) **Regions**

(i) *Haryana* : The name Haryāṇā is now applied to that part of the country which, in very early times, was called Kurukṣetra after the Kurus. The geographical definition of Kurukṣetra as given in the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*[29] almost exactly matches the boundaries of the present state of Haryana which originally, as a regional name, actually embraced only the tract lying between 28°.30′ and 30°. N and 75°.45′ and 76.°30′E chiefly comprising the eastern half of Hissar district, part of Rohtak district and parts of the states of Jind and Patiala.[30] In other words, it constituted the lower or western half of Kurukṣetra which is called Śaryaṇā in the *Ṛgveda.*[31] The name occurs in the *Gaṇapāṭha*[32] to Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* also with an alternative reading Śaryāṇa. The *tīrtha* described Śaśayāna later in the *Mahābhārata*[33] lies in the same area and its name is, in all probability, a scribal error, substituting a '*śa*' in place of the '*ra*'. The transition from Śaryāṇa to Haryana involves only the change of '*śa*' to '*ha*' which is a very common linguistic phenomenon.

Yet after a lapse of more than a thousand years, which obliterated the original connection, it sounded rather an odd name to the educated mind specially as the current form was used in Apabhraṁśa works like the *Pārśvanāthacarita*[34] of Śrīdhara composed in A.D. 1132 and contemporary inscriptions.[35] So the usual attempt at re-Sanskritisation followed which gave us some more literary forms like Hariāla,[36] Hariyānaka[37] and Haritānaka.[38] Even modern scholars joined the race and in their individual wisdom restored the name to different forms like Harayāṇa[39] and Ahīrayāna[40] offering interpretations that, on their very face, appear ludicrous.

(ii) *Pachhad*: Pachhāḍa is the name of a subdivision of district Nahan in Himachal Pradesh. The Ghaggar or the Vedic Sarasvatī now takes its rise in this region in the area of the Lawasa reserved forest.[41] The word Pachhad is the Apabhraṁśa form of Sanskrit Prasravaṇa and Lawasa of Plakṣa. Pachhad survives in Pushto language[42] also where it denotes a region full of small streams as indeed the region as Pachhad is. Prasravaṇa, in the name Plakṣaprāsravaṇa, as the source of Sarasvatī in the Brāhmaṇas carries the same meaning which practically signifies the catchment area of the river.

Having lost its real significance during the long process culminating in the change from Prasravaṇa to Pachhad, the name in its current form did not appeal to the literary mind who probably found it not only rough and rustic but also unintelligible. So they replaced it with Supārśva in the Purāṇas[43] as the name of the mountain-range in the area. Supārśva is the same as Pārśva (like Sumeru for Meru) and linguistically hardly a step away from Pachhad. Like Plakṣaprāsravaṇa, it is also described as the region of the Sarasvatī's source as the mode of its association with the river in the *Kūrma-Purāṇa*[44] implies. So Prasravaṇa changed to Pachhad and again got Sanskritised to Supārśva.

(iii) *Sambhar*: Sāmbhar is the name of a lake[45] as well as a town[46] and the surrounding region[47] in the northern part of Rajasthan. The original name was Śakambhara which goes back to a very remote past. In the time of the *Atharvaveda*,[48] it was known for its boxers. Śakambhara gradually gave way to the form Śākambhara which further changed to Śākambharī[49] as a result of the association with goddess Durgā. *Skanda-Purāṇa*[50] mentions the setting up of an image of goddess Durgā at the bank of the Sarasvatī in the region of the Sambhar lake. The change from Śākambhara to Sambhar needs no explanation. The latter form was re-Sanskritised to Sayambhara in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*[51] where it is counted among Sapādalakṣa units, each containing 1¼ lakh villages.

(d) Places

(i) *Ludhiana*: Located 30°.56′N×75°.52′E on the G.T. Road, about 100 kms. from Ambala towards Amritsar, Ludhiana is the headquarter of a district in Punjab. Although now flowing about 13 kms. to the north of the town, the Sutlej once ran almost washing its walls. The old channel of the river still exists under the name '*Buḍḍhā-Daryā*'[52] or the 'old river'.

Originally called Ailadhāna[53] the name finds its earliest mention in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*[54] where Prince Bharata is described as crossing at this point the noisy and broad-channelled Sutlej flowing westward, before attaining the smaller mountains or Shiwalik foot-hills in his march to Ayodhyā. Meaning the capital of King Aila or Purūravā son of Ilā,[55] Ailadhāna is a place-name with Dhāna

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ending like Vāṭadhāna,[56] Karadhāna[57] and Aṁśudhāna.[58] Evidently the town was christened by or after Purūravā Aila and its existence goes back to the earliest epoch of Indian history.

By the medieval period the process of linguistic change had taken its toll and eaten up the first vowel leaving the name as Ladhāna or Lahāna which is noted by the Muslim historian Mohammed Abul Qasim Ferishta,[59] a contemporary of Akbar. The process of change from Ladhāna or Lahāna to Ludhiana was possibly aided by an imaginary connection of the name with the Lodis suggested by the deceptive phonetic similarity of Ludhiana with Lodiana which form is not traceable anywhere in literature or other available written records.

The name Ailadhāna was thus first shortened to Ladhāna or Lahāna and again lengthened to Ludhiana.

(ii) *Thanesar* : Thanesar, also known as Kurukṣetra, is the headquarter of Kurukṣetra district. It is situated 29°.55′N×76°.45′E near the G.T. Road about 50 kms. to the south of Ambala. The original name of the town was Sthāṇvīśvara, which finds mention in the *Harṣacarita*[60] of Bāṇa. The *Vāmana-Purāṇa*[61] gives the same form of the name while explaining its origin. The form appears to find support from the *Avantisundarīkathā*[62] which describes Manu Vaivasvata as Sthāṇaveya, probably meaning that he belonged to Sthāṇvīśvara. Gradually the name changed to Thanesar which was re-Sanskritised to Sthāneśvara in later Purāṇas like the *Matsya*,[63] the *Padma*[64] and the *Devī-Bhāgavata*.[65]

(iii) *Sonepat* : Sonepat, now a district headquarter in Haryana, lies 28°.55′N× 77°.00 E on the G.T. Road about 50 kms. to the north of Delhi. It is a very old town and finds place in Pāṇini's *Gaṇapāṭha*[66] under the *Sūtra* VI. 2.88 as Śoṇāprastha which gradually changed to Sonepat, locally pronounced as Sonapat.[67] Ignorance of the true origin of the name has, however, resulted in its restoration to Suvarṇaprastha.[68] It is interesting to note that the authors of the *Kāśikā*[69] have also noted a name Suvarṇaprastha under Pāṇini VI. 2.87.

(iv) *Kamoda*[70] : A village now called Kamodā is situated 29°.55′N and 76°.40′E about 15 kms. from Thanesar on the road to Pehoa[71] not far from the Sarasvatī river. It is associated by later tradition with the Pāṇḍavas,[72] although originally it was named as Kalmāṣadhāma[73] after King Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda, son of Sudāsa, the famous hero of the Dāśarāja battle which is described in the *Ṛgveda*.[74] It is spelled variously as Kammāsadamma,[75] Kammāsadhamma,[76] Kalmāṣadamya,[77] *etc.* in Buddhist literature. Unmindful of this early history, the recent writers of Kurukṣetra-*Māhātmyas*,[78] have Sanskritised the name to Kāmoda.

(v) *Bilaspur* : The town of Bilaspur 30°.15′N×77°.15′, 67 kms. from Ambala on the north of Jagadhri is known for its ancient *tīrthas* of Kapālamocana[79] and

Ṛṇamocana.[80] It finds mention in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[81] as Vilāsapura, the capital of Śrīkaṇṭha Janapada which comprised the northern part of Kurukṣetra. Keeping in view the fact that the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is not a very old work, the evolution from Vilāsapura to Bilaspur, involving very little change, is easily understood. However, there have already been efforts to re-Sanskritise it to Vyāsapura[82] in the erroneous belief that it was the site of the hermitage of the traditional author of the *Mahābhārata*.

(vi) *Bhatinda* : Bhatinda, more popularly called Baṭhiṇḍā and situated 30°.10′ N×74°.35′E, is the corrupt form of Vāṭadhāna[83] which was probably a name with the 'dhāna' ending like Ailadhāna, Śaradhāna,[84] Karadhāna and Savadhāna.[85] The name was also applied to the region and its people and the Vāṭadhānas have been located on the basis of the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*[86] and the Purāṇas[87] in the part of the territory stretching from Pañcanada to the Ganges, over which the hosts assembled on the Kauravas' side spread at the beginning of the great *Mahābhārata* war. According to Pargiter,[88] the Vāṭadhānas occupied the region on the east of the Sutlej and southward from Ferozepur which matches with the location of Bhatinda as its nucleous. The linguistic evolution is by way of Vāṭadhāna>Vāṭandhā>Baṭhiṇḍā, involving metathesis of '*dha*' and '*na*'. Since in its present form the name did not make much sense it came to be associated with the Bhattis and refined to forms like Bhaṭiānā.[89] Bhaṭṭi-dā-nagara[90] and Bhaṭṭi-piṇḍa[91] which is obviously a very recent occurrence, since the use of the word '*Piṇḍa*' in the sense of a village doesn't go back even up to the medieval period.[92] It is indeed so recent that place-names with *Piṇḍa* have undergone no change as can be seen from instances like Piṇḍa-Ahīrān, Piṇḍa-Dādankhān, Harsī-Piṇḍa, Uccā-Piṇḍa and so on.

(vii) *Bayana* : Bayānā is a town lying 26°.50′N×77°.15′E. near Bharatpur in Rajasthan. It was named after the Bahudhānyaka clan of the Yaudheyas[93] who had shifted from the region of Rohtaka and made it their stronghold at a later stage in their chequered history.

Local tradition connects the town with a name Śāntipura which is not confirmed from epigraphical and literary sources.[94] Two literary works, Tejapāla's *Varāṅgacarita* (V.S. 1507) and *Paśapurāṇa* (V.S. 1555), written during the reign of Daud Shah Auhadi (A.D. 1369-1459), name it as Śrīpathā of Bhadānakadeśa.[95] Yet another name Brahmavāda is given to it in inscriptions on Jain images installed in local temples in A.D 1403, 1439, 1448 and 1456[96] and in another inscription recording the construction of the Paḍgāha of a temple here by some Srāvakas in A.D. 1621[97] During the Muslim period it was re-named Sultankoṭa but luckily Bayana also continued to figure as the first part of the full name.[98]

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The connection of the Bahudhānyakas with the place, however, proved too strong to be obliterated altogether and the real name asserted again. In the process, it got restored to some new forms in literature and inscriptions. Bahudhānyaka[99] was thus followed by Bhādānaka,[100] Bhādāma,[101] Bhayāṇa,[102] Bhayānaya,[103] and Bhayāṇaka.[104] The last two are evidently the Sanskritised forms of Bayānā.

This small list of geographical names is, by no means, exhaustive. It is indeed only illustrative and many more similar instances could be added. Evidently, the restoration of geographical names in the medieval age has normally taken place by way of re-Sanskritisation and once in a while the substitute sounds atleast linguistically as appealing to the ear as the original albeit entirely bereft of the historical significance. Sāmbhramatī in place of Aśmanvatī and Somb and Sapādalakṣa for Śālvaka and Shiwalik would fall in this category. Occasionally the restorer of a name contrived to lend it credence by weaving it into some old twisted tradition to connect it with a celebrated personality as the story of the birth of Sāmbhramatī from the agitation of the venerable sage Vasiṣṭha[105] strives to do. These are, however, only exceptions rather than the rule. More often the restored names, although apparently more refined, contain precious little of sense or significance as instances like Gejjara, Śatarudra, Hariāla, Sayambhara and Bhayāṇaka would show.

Whereas normal restoration, refinement or amendation—whatever one might call it—of a geographical name howsoever deformed, transformed or changed it might be, is bound to increase the chaos and reduce the possibility of its easy identification in future, a re-naming would almost certainly eliminate any such possibility by completely destroying the old name along with its linguistic and historical roots. After two hundred years from now the name Sāhebzādā Ajit Singh Nagar or S.A.S. Nagar might well be changed into something like Sasnār or Hasnāḍ and Carterpuri to something like Kartauḍī making it next to impossible for anybody to be reminded of Mohali and Daulatpur Nasīrābād.

But then this process is inevitable and the historian will have to live with it.

Notes and References

1. Originally edited by G. Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 242ff; and again by Sadhu Ram, *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1. pp. 16-25.
2. v. 24 :

यक्षपालकनामैको द्वितीयो गेज्जराभिधः ।
पाटला (ह्य) स्तृती (योऽपि ग्रा) मो भोगाय कल्पितः ।।

3. Names of these villages and their situations have been verified from the *Survey of India*, "Sheets No. 44N/12, 53B/4 and 53C/1 and from the *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*, two volumes, New Delhi, 1953. For Change of '*ra*' to '*la*', *cf*. the change of मधुपुरी>महोली and चर्मण्वती>चम्बल.

4. For identification of Pratiṣṭhāna with Patran, see Bharadwaj, O.P., "Purūravā's Pratiṣṭhāna." *VIJ*, Vol. XVIII, Pts. i-ii (1980). pp. 455-460.

5. *Purātana-Prabandha-Saṅgraha*, (*Singhi Jain Series*), p. 63.

6. III. 33.1; and X. 75.5.

7. Venkateshvar Press, Bombay edn., II. 71.2. (ii).

8. Ādi. 176.9 (ii) : शतधा विद्रुता यस्माच्छतद्रुरिति विश्रुता ।।

9. See *e.g. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, V. 18.18 and *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* II. 3.10.

10. *Śabdakalpadruma* and *Bharatadvirūpakośa*; also, of course, Monier Williams. Sitadru is noted by Nando Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 3rd edn., (Delhi, 1971), p. 187

11. Ali, S.M., *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, 2nd edn., (Delhi, 1973), p. 115. Muslim historians have noted the name in several forms that differ slightly. These are like Satladar, Satlader, Satlada, Satlet, Satlut. *Vide* Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, Allahabad edn. (1964), Vol. iv, pp. 8,51; Vol. i, p. 48; Vol. v, p. 358; *etc.*

12. Śatarudra is mentioned in Revā-khaṇḍa, 2.53 with Sarayū. Godāvarī, Carmilā, and Yamunā. Next verse mentions Satadru also possibly by mistake. Śatarudrikā is noted after Candrabhāgā and Irāvati (14) in Revā-khaṇḍa, 22.15 with Vipāśā, Sarayū and Kauśikī, and apparently represents Śatadru.

12a. In the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (Oxford, 1908), Vol. xiv; p. 234, this course is erroneously described as the torrent-bed, now known as the Chautang. The 1/4'' Survey sheets show the course of the Chautang far apart from the western Jumna Canal.

13. *ṚV*. X. 53.8.

14. *ṚV*. III. 23.4.

15. *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, I.8.1.1; *MBh.*, Vana, 185; *etc.*

16. Nāgara-khaṇḍa, 173. 9-14.

17. Noted by Pāṇini in the *Gaṇapāṭha* under VI. 3.117. See Shastri, Kapila Deva, *The Gaṇapāṭha ascribed to Pāṇini*, (Kurukṣetra, 1967), p. 209.

18. Ed. Indraji Bhagwan Lal, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X (1881), pp. 341-347, v. 11 (i) :

प्रख्यातं हि सपादलक्षशिखरिक्ष्मापालचूडामणिम् ।......

19. *ibid.*, p. 346, line 3 : ...सपादलक्षशिखरिखसपेशराजाधिराजश्रीमदशोकचल्लदेव......

19a. Śālva is also spelled as Sālva.

20. For identifications, see Bharadwaj, O.P., "Gaṅgā to Ghaggar with Vālmīki".

VIJ, Vol. XVII (1979), pp. 142-167; and "Vālmīki's Geography of Kurukṣetra, *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. X, Pt. I (1978), pp. 1-8.

21. Seven of these tribes, which were more prominent, are named in a traditional verse qu oted by *Kāśika* under Pāṇini IV. 1.73 and by others. Under Pāṇini II. 4.58, *Kāśikā* itself adds three more, namely, Bodhas, Jābālas and Bhāṇḍijaṅghis while two Ajamīḍhas and Ajakrandas are added by Patañjali under Pāṇini IV.1.170.

22. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (Oxford, 1908), Vol. XXIII, p. 418.

23. The well-known commentary of Vāmana and Jayāditya on Pāṇini's *Āṣṭādhyāyī*. See under Pāṇini IV. 1.169; IV 2.135, 136; IV. 3.166; *etc.*

24. *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, XV. 16; 10-12 and *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*, II. 206.

25. *Babur Nāmā*, Eng. Tr. Beveridge, A.S., reprint, (Delhi, 1970), p. 685.

26. Māheśvara-khaṇḍa, 39. 138-153.

27. Their sway extended over the territories of the chief of Pañcapura or Panjaur near Kalka who had been defeated by Pṛthvīrāja II. See Sharma, Dasharatha. *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 2nd edn., (Delhi, 1975), pp. 74ff.

28. Hutchison, J. and Vogel. J.P., *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 2 vols., (Lahore, 1933), *passim* and Berreman Gerald, D., *Hindus of the Himalayas : Ethnography and Change*, (California, 1972), *passim*.

29. V.1.1. :

तेषां कुरक्षेत्रं वेदिरासीत् । यस्यै खाण्डवो दक्षिणार्ध आसीत् तुर्घ्नम् उत्तरार्ध: । परीणज्जघनार्ध: ।
मरव उत्कर: ॥

30. *IGI*, Vol. XIII, p. 53.

31. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 364.

32. Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 149 and Agrawala, V.S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, 2nd edn. (Varanasi, 1963), p. 510.

33. It is located a couple of stages above Vinaśana, Vana. 80.120 :

शशयानं च राजेन्द्रतीर्थंतासाद्य दुर्लभं ।
शशरूपप्रतिच्छन्ना: पुष्करा यत्र भारत ॥

34. Sharma, Dashrath, "New Light on the Tomaras of Delhi", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, (Agra Session, December, 1957), pp. 150-153.

35. Sarval Inscr. of V.S. 1384, *EI*. Vol. I (1892), pp. 93ff.:

देशोऽस्ति हरियानाख्य: पृथिव्यां स्वर्गसन्निभ: ।
ढिल्लिकाख्या पुरी यत्र तोमरैरस्ति निर्मिता ॥

Badayun Stone Inscr. of Lakhanapāla, *EI*, Vol. I (1892), pp. 61-65 :

प्रख्यातो हरियाणदेशवसति: श्री सिहपल्ल्यां द्विजो ।
बह्वन्नो गुणवान् वसावन इति ख्यात: पृथिव्यामभूत् ॥

36. *Skanda-Purāṇa*, Kumārika-khaṇḍa, 39.135 (ii) :

    हरीग्राले च ग्रामाणां लक्षपंचकसम्मितम् ।

    Hariāla is also mentioned in a late work *Rāja-vilāsa* of Māna Kavi Awashti, A.B.L., *Studies in Skanda-Purāṇa*, (Lucknow, 1976), p. 36.
37. Bohar (Palam Baoli) Inscr., dated V.S. 1337, *JASB*, Vol. XLIII (1874) :

    ग्रभोजि तोमरैरादौ चौहाणैस्तदनन्तरम् ।
    हरियानकभूरेषा शकेन्द्रैः शास्यतेऽधुना ।।
38. *Chauhan Praśasti* of the Ajmer Museum, undated, L. 17. See Sharma, Dasharath, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 2nd edn., (Delhi, 1975) pp. 180-181 :

    वाष्पवारिणि कालिन्दी हरितानकयोषिताम् ।
    सत्त्वाक्रान्तस्य मिलिता यत्प्रमाणे रजस्वला ।।
39. Acharya Bhagwan Dev, हरयाणा की संस्कृति, (Haryana Language Department, Chandigarh, 1968), p. 2, traces it to हरयाणे in *Ṛ̣V*. VIII. 25.22.
40. Buddha Prakash, "Glimpses of Ancient Hariyana," *Haryana Research Journal*, (Kurukshetra University), Vol. I, No. 1, p. 1.
41. *Sirmur Gazetteer*, (Simla, 1969). pp. 11f.
42. Balfour Edward, *Encyclopaedia Asiatica*, 9 Volumes, reprint, (Delhi, 1976), Vol. III, p. 69.
43. Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 78, 79, *etc.*
44. *Kūrma-Purāṇa*, 34.34 (ii) :

    सुपार्श्वस्योत्तरे भागे सरस्वत्या: पुरोत्तमम् ।।
45. *IGI*, Vol. XXII, p. 19.
46. *ibid.*, p. 21.
47. It was a Sapādalakṣa unit and acquired considerable importance under the Cāhamāṇas.
48. V. 22. 4 : (ii) :

    शकम्भरस्य मुष्टिहा पुनरेतु महावृषान् ।।
49. *MBh.*, Vana., 84, 13 :

    ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र देव्या: स्थानं सुदुर्लभम् ।
    शाकम्भरीति विख्याता त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुता ।।
50. Nāgara-khaṇḍa, 164. 39 :

    शाकम्भरीति विख्याता भार्याऽऽसीच्चण्डशर्मणः ।
    तया संस्थापिता दुर्गा सरस्वत्या शुभे तटे ।।
51. Mansukhrai Mor, (Calcutta, 1965), Kumārikā-khaṇḍa, 39. 138-153; 139 (ii) :

    सयंभरे तथा देशे लक्ष: प्रोक्त: सपादक: ।।

52. *Ludhiana District Gazetteer*, Lahore edn., pp. 2 and 12.
53. For identification, see Bharadwaj, O.P., "The Identification of Ludhiana," *Purāṇa*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (July, 1975), pp. 106-117; and "The Ailadhāna-Ludhiana Equation—A Rejoinder," *Purāṇa*, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (July, 1979), pp. 177-193.
54. Ayodhyā, 71. 2:

 ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रत्यक्स्रोतस्तरङ्गिणीम् ।
 शतद्रुमतरच्छ्रीमान् नदीमिक्ष्वाकुनन्दन: ॥

55. It is a *Tatpuruṣa*-compound formation ऐलस्य धानम्=ऐलधानम् । Aila is derived as इलाया अपत्यं पुमान् ।
56. *MBh.*, Udyoga., 19.31; *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, 13.37.
57. It is a P.G.W. site located on river Tangri near Ambala Cantonment, See Devendra Handa, Pre- and Proto-historic Sites in district Ambala. *VIJ*, Vol. IX, Pt. ii (Sept. 1971), pp. 374-385.
58. *Rāmāyaṇa.*, Ayodhyā, 71.9.
59. Col. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India* (*Till the Year* A.D. 1612), translated from the original Persian of Mohammed Kasim Ferishta, 2nd reprint (Calcutta, 1966). Vol. I, p. 2-9 and Vol. II, p. 123. also Kishori Saran Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, (Bombay, 1963), p. 81. n. 77.
60. Ed. Parab, K.P., (Bombay, 1912), ch. III, p. 97 :

 ...नामाभिहार इव कुवेरनगरस्य स्थाण्वीश्वराख्यो जनपदविशेष: ।

61. Saromāhātmya, 23.15 (i) :

 स्थाण्वीश्वरे स्थितो यस्मात्स्थाण्वीश्वरस्तत: स्मृत: ।

62. Quoted by Bhagavaddatta, भारत का बृहद् इतिहास, Vol. I. p. 327 :

 यस्य विवस्वत: सुत: स्थाणवेयो मनु...... ।

63. 13.31 (i) :

 स्थानेश्वरे भवानी तु बिल्वले बिल्वपत्रिका ।

64. Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 17.195; also *Nilamata-Purāṇa*, 1054.
65. VII. 30.61.
66. Shastri *op. cit.*, p. 205.
67. Mathur, V.K., *Sthānāvali*, (Delhi, 1969), pp. 987 and 989, spells it both as सोनपत and सोनीपत.
68. Mathur, *op. cit.*, p. 987. Jagannath Agrawal has very kindly brought to my notice an inscription on a small piece of stone 1.3" × $10\frac{3}{4}$", now preserved in the Red Fort Museum, presented to Delmerick by the mutwalli of a Sonepat mosque in 1903, which is listed in Vogel's *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology*, Red Fort, Delhi. published in 1908. The inscription is dated V.S. 1347, Phālguna Śudi 5, corresponding to Monday, 5th Feb., A.D. 1291

and records the building of a well by somebody whose name is lost, in the village named Prastha, the first part of which is Suvarṇa—referring, obviously, to the village Suvarṇaprastha or Sonepat where the stone was found. The relevant verse 15 of the badly damaged inscription is :

संचिन्त्य संसारासारतां सुधी ।
[प्रस्था] भिधे सुवर्णा[दि] ग्रामे कूपमकारयत् ॥

69. P. 202.
70. *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*, (Delhi, 1950), Vol. I, p. 569.
71. Mathur, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
72. *ASIR*, Vol. XIV, p. 100.
73. For identification, see Bharadwaj, O.P., "Gautama Buddha in Kurukṣetra," (Paper presented at the Punjab History Conference, Patiala Session, February, 1980), *ABORI*. Vol. LXI, (1980), pp. 189-204.
74. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 454.
75. Upadhyaya, Bharat Singh, *Buddhakālīna Bhāratīya Bhūgola*, (Prayag, V.S. 2018), p. 9.
76. *ibid.*, p. 113.
77. *ibid.*, p. 408.
78. Pt. Ramswarup, *Kurukṣetra-Rahasya*, (Jind), p. 44.
79. *MBh.*, Vana., 83.137 and Śalya., 39; also *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, 3. 49-51. For detailed information on Kapālamocana, see Devendra Handa, "Kapālamocana—An Ancient holy place," *Purāṇa*, Vol. X. No. 2 (July, 1968), pp. 148-153.
80. *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, Sm., 20.6; Also see *Kalyāṇa*, Tīrthāṅka, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (Jan., 1951), p. 66.
81. 40.42 :

    अभूच्छ्रीकण्ठनिलये विलासपुरनामनि ।
    पुरे विनयशीलाख्यो नामान्वर्थेन भूपतिः ॥

    The work was written by Somadeva between A.D. 1063 and 1081, Keith, *History of Sanskrit literature*, p. 281.
82. Shri Som Prakash Shandilya of Kanakhala, Haridwar has been propagating this idea through hand-bills and pamphlets for quite some time.
83. For identification see Bharadwaj, O.P., "The Ailadhāna-Ludhiana Equation—A Rejoinder," *Purāṇa*, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (July, 1979) pp. 172-193. particularly, pp. 189ff.
84. *Bṛhatsaṁhita*, XIV. 26.
85. *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, 57. 36.
86. Udyoga., 19. 31; Bhīṣma., 9. 47 and Droṇa., 11. 17; *etc.*
87. *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, 13. 37; also *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 26.
88. *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, Eng. tr. with Notes, reprint, (Delhi, 1969), p. 312.

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91. Devendra Handa, "A Note on the identification of Ludhiana", *Purāṇa*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (Jan., 1977), pp. 233-237.
92. Only a modern Panjabi Dictionary *Guruśabda-Ratnākara Mahāṇkośa* of Kahan Singh Nabha, (Patiala, 1960), p. 577, gives this sense in the 6th place among the definitions with the illustration Piṇḍa-Ahīrān.
93. See Bharadwaj, O.P., "Who were the Bhādānakas?" *VIJ* Vol. XV, pt. i (March, 1977). (pp. 76-87), p. 86.
94. K.C. Jain, "*Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan,*" (Delhi, 1972), p. 148.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 152 and n. 5; Sharma, Dasharatha, *Rajasthan through the Ages*, (Bikaner, 1966), Vol. I, p. 22, cites Tejapāla's *Sambhavanāthacarita* on the same point.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 154 and n. 1.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 154 and n. 2.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 148, citing Eliot and Dowson, Vol. II, pp. 304 and 308.
99. *MBh.*, Sabhā., 29, 4-6 (i) :

ततो वहुधनं रम्यं गजाश्वधनधान्यवत् ।
कार्तिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ।।
तत्र युद्धं महद्वृत्तं शूरैर्मत्तमयूरकैः ।
मरुभूमिं च कार्त्स्न्येन तथैव वहुधान्यकम् ।।
शैरीषकं महेच्छं च वशे चक्रे महाद्युतिः ।

100. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Ed. Dalal, C.D. and Sastri, R.A., (Baroda, 1934), 10. 2, (p. 51) :

गौड़ाद्याः संस्कृतस्थाः परिचितरुचयः प्राकृते लाटदेश्याः ।
सापभ्रंशप्रयोगाः सकलमरुभुवः टक्कभादानकाश्च ।।

101. Bijolia Inscr. of Cāhamāṇa Someśvara, V.S. 1226, Ed. Vyas, A.K., *EI*, Vol. XXVI (1941-42); pp. 84-112. v. 19 :

भादानत्वं चक्रे भादानपतिः परस्य भादानः ।
यस्य दधत्करवालः करालतां करतलाकलितः ।।

102. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan* (*GOS*, No. 76, Baroda, 1937), p. 156, v. 22 :

सावत्थिदुग्गमाइसु वाणारसीपमुह पृव्वदेसन्मि ।
कम्मगसिरोहमाइसु भयाणदेसम्मि वन्दामि ।।

103. Sharma, Dasharatha, *Rajasthan through the Ages*, (Bikaner, 1966), Vol. I, p. 24.
104. *Skanda-Purāṇa*, Kumārikā-khaṇḍa, 39. 159 (i) :

    लक्षैकं च तथा प्रोक्तं ग्रामाणाँ तु भयाणकम् ।

    Also spelled as भयानक, *vide* Awasthi, *op cit*., pp. 28-51.
105. *Skanda-Purāṇa*, Nāgara-khaṇḍa, 173, 9-14.

18

Vedic Sites of Northern India

It is generally agreed that the bulk of early Vedic literature is the product of the region described as Sapta Sindhu or the land of the seven rivers, from the Sarasvatī on the east to the Indus on the west.[1] The Sarasvatī is a popular river of the *Ṛgveda*. The Sindhu or Indus comes next in importance if frequency of mention is taken as the criterion. The Paruṣṇī-Irāvatī or Ravi occurs about five times, the Yamunā thrice, the Asikni or Chenab, the Vipāś or Beas, the Śutudri or Sutlej and the Gaṅgā twice each and the Vitastā or Jhelum only once.[2] Of the smaller rivers, the Āpayā and Dṛṣadvatī on the east of the Sarasvatī or Ghaggar have received special notice.

Out of the region covered by these rivers, the land between the Sutlej in the north and Yamunā in the east was primarily the scene of activity of the earliest Vedic people. On the south, it was bounded by the region of Khāṇḍava about Delhi and on the west by the contiguous part of Rajasthan.[3] The *Ṛgveda* describes the kindling of sacrificial fires on the banks of the Sarasvatī, the Āpayā and the Dṛṣadvatī, in whose bed the western Jumna canal now flows,[4] by Bharata princes[5] and the victorious battles of Sudās on the Sutlej and Beas.[6]

This holy land of the Vedas is, therefore, generally regarded as the birth place of Brahmanic culture and civilization. It is but natural that it should be invested with great archaeological potential. On the Indian side now this tract can probably boast of the largest number of important Harappan and pre-Harappan sites. There are, however, a number of ancient sites noticed in Vedic literature which have not attracted the attention of the archaeologists so far. If some of them are properly excavated, it is quite possible that we may stumble upon the crucial evidence required for the equation of the Harappan culture with some stage of Vedic or Post-Vedic civilization and also for the correct decipherment of the Harappan script.

Here is a brief survey of these sites most of which have been visited by the author alone or in the company of Prof Y.D. Sharma and Shri Devendra Handa of the Punjab University.

(i) **Ailadhāna**[7]

The town of Ludhiana, 30° 56′N, and 75° 52′E, situated on the old Grand Trunk Road, is erroneously believed to have been founded by the Lodis. Actually, it is a very ancient site and finds mention in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*[8] under the name of Ailadhāna as a town on the Sutlej. While describing the route taken by Prince Bharata for his hasty return to Ayodhyā on the sudden demise of Daśaratha, the poet takes note of a number of geographical names stating categorically that the party found the noisy, broad-channelled and tortuous Sutlej easily fordable and crossed it at Ailadhāna. Much later, the noted Muslim historian, Mohammed Qasim Ferishta, a contemporary of Akbar, spells the name Lodhana. Thus during the long interval of time the name has suffered only the elision of the vowel 'ai' in the process of linguistic change.

The name Ailadhāna literally means the 'seat of Aila' or Ilā's son. Aila was the matronymic of the illustrious King Purūravā who was the grandson of Manu Vaivasvata and son of his daughter Ilā. Since Purūravā, Aila had already become a somewhat mythical figure, by the time of the *Ṛgveda* the hoary antiquity of the town is obvious. It may indeed be the oldest extant site unless, of course, one associates Harappa with the Hariyūpiyā of the *Ṛgveda*.[9]

The Sutlej is notorious for shifting its course from time to time and it had in earlier days flowed right by the side of the city. A small channel still exists close by and is called 'Buddha Darya' or the 'Old river'. One can form an idea of the height of the site by looking at the town from its northern side. Most of the mound is now covered by the city and only a careful look by an expert can tell if it is at all possible to excavate at any spot.

(ii) **Pratiṣṭhāna**[10]

The site of Pratiṣṭhāna is also connected with King Purūravā and is naturally as old as Ailadhāna. The *Purāṇas* mention it as his capital and locate it on the Gaṅgā, near Prayaga or Allahabad. In Vedic literature, however, Purūravā and his immediate predecessors and successors are associated with the valley of the Sarasvatī. As we have shown elsewhere Purūrava was a monarch of great achievement who is said to have conquered all the seven continents, performed a hundred Aśvamedha sacrifices, introduced three sacrificial fires in place of one and ruled over his extensive kingdom most benevolently but for one lapse for which he fell foul of the Brāhmaṇas.[11]

Pratiṣṭhāna, literally means only a new capital or a second seat of a king's government and the name has been given to several cities in later age. Purūravā's Pratiṣṭhāna, like the town of Ailadhāna, had to be in the Sutlej-Sarasvatī *doab* and it has been identified with the town of Patran located 29°55′N and 76°5′E, not far from the Ghaggar-Sarasvatī at the junction of roads converging from Patiala, Bhatinda, Jakhal, Hissar-Tohana and Jind, most of which are ancient towns. Tohana is the Tauṣāvaṇa of Pāṇini,[12] Bhatinda has been identified with Vāṭadhāna[13] and Jind is the Jayantī of the *Mahābhārata*.[14]

The site of the mound locally called Chichadwala Theh[15] is imposing enough to agree with the antiquity invested in it as a result of its identification with Pratiṣṭhāna.

(iii) **Mānuṣa**

The village now called Manas and located about 5 kms. to the west of Kaithal is the site of the town and tank mentioned as Mānuṣa in the *Ṛgveda*.[16] It is a big village covering an elevation consisting of the accumulation of old cultures. The painted grey-ware, tentatively associated with the *Mahābhārata* sites, and early historic plain red-ware were picked up by us from the periphery of the mound which in all likelihood conceals much earlier remains. A large water body, now called Mansarovar (Mānuṣasarovara ?) is a notable feature towards the north and north-east of the village. Old men of the village are aware of its antiquity but no tradition connecting it with any personality or event has survived.

In the *Ṛgveda*, it is noted along with the sacred Sarasvatī, Dṛṣadvatī and Āpayā, rivers as a spot where sacrificial fire was kindled by Bharata princes.[17] Later, in the great epic and the *Purāṇas*, it is included in the list of *tīrthas* of Kurukṣetra.[18]

(iv) **Ilāspada**

A big old mound by the side of the modern village of Shergarh about 2 kms. to the south-east of Kaithal is believed to be the site of the place named Ilāspada or Ilāyāspada in the *Ṛgveda* and later in the *Mahābhārata*.[19] It is supposed to have got its name from Ilā, the first known ancestress of the so called Lunar dynasties.

The old mound is both high and extensive. It rises to about forty feet from the base and a small Śiva temple has now been built on the top. There is a lake not far from the mound on which pottery and brick-bats lay scattered at the time of our visit. Bricks measuring 8½″ × 14″ and 10″ × 14″ could also be seen and the slopes of the mound revealed remains of house structures. In the pottery, scattered on the surface, the early historic plain red-ware predominated. The priest of the Śiva temple had a copper piece which, although resembling a Kuṣāṇa coin, had been rubbed beyond recognition. He has picked up from the site a dabber and some old vases also. Another dabber was lying nearby.

Another Ṛgvedic name *Vivasvat Sadana* (the dwelling place of Vivasvat) is also supposed to refer to Ilāspada.[20]

(v) Kapiṣṭhala

The name of the present town of Kaithal, situated 29° 48′ N and 76° 26′ E about 48 kms. west-south-west of Kurukṣetra on the Ambala-Hissar Road, has evolved from Kapiṣṭhala with which is associated the Vedic text *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā*.[21] The town is also noticed by the celebrated grammarian Pāṇini and others much later by Albiruni.[22] A silver coin of Apollodotus and some coins of Sāmantadeva were found here.[23] The name literally means 'the abode of monkeys' and the local tradition connecting it with the monkey god, Hanumān, is supported by a temple dedicated to his mother Añjanā.

Although the old mound is fully covered by the present town, there is no scope for doubting the Vedic association of the town and its great antiquity, a probe into which should be highly rewarding.

(vi) Āsandivat

Āsandīvat or the present town of Asandh,[24] lies on the old bed of the Dṛṣadvatī about 32 kms. south-west of Karnal. This important Vedic site finds mention in the *Aitareya*[25] and *Śatapatha*[26] *Brāhmaṇas* as the capital of the great king, Janamejaya Pārikṣita, who is said to have performed a horse sacrifice here. The town retained its importance for long and it has been noticed in Sūtra literature[27] apart from grammatical works of Pāṇini and others.

A considerable part of the present town stands on the ancient mound from which, at one place, rises to a height of more than sixty feet, a circular brick-wall eminently resembling the Dhamekh Stūpa of Sarnath. The structure undoubtedly represents the remains of a Buddhist stūpa which, in view of its large-sized bricks (10″ × 14″) is not later than the Kuṣāṇa period. People describe it as the fort of King Jarāsandha of the Great Epic but this belief is evidently born of phonetic affinity between the two names.

The site has also yielded painted grey-ware which is associated with the towns mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Definite references in Brāhmaṇa literature, projecting it as the capital of the great king, Janamejaya, invest it with special significance from the archaeological point of view.

(vii) Kārotī

The name of the small town of Kārotī, located on the southern or the left side of the old Dṛṣadvatī bed about 1½ kms. to the south-east of Diplana railway station on the Hanumangarh-Sadulpur branch of the northern railway has suffered absolutely no change during the past more than three thousand years. It appears, in the age of the Brāhmaṇas, as a seat of the fire-cult par excellence.[28] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (IX 5.2.15) Śāṇḍilya, the principal authority on the building of altars for the sacred fires,[29] describes it as the place where Tura Kāvaṣeya made a fire-altar for the gods. Tura was the priest of Janamejaya Pārikṣita, a great conqueror and performer of horse-sacrifice whom he anointed with Aindra Mahābhiṣeka. This Janamejaya was possibly an ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas.[30] The present village of Kārotī is a small habitation of about 237 souls, situated 29°10′N and 74°50′E. The mound covers about 200 bighas (50 acres) of land and is about four metres in height, 12 kms to the east of Nohar by crow-flight and about 5 kms. to the south-east of the well-known pre-historic site of Sothi in a region which is known for the abundance of pre-historic and proto-historic sites.

The site was explored by a party led by Devendra Handa[31] and remains of Sothi as well as pre-Harappan and Harappan material including pottery in various designs, terracotta cakes, terracotta animal figurines and shell-bangle pieces, *etc.*, were found. It is likely to contain evidence of a continuous occupation from pre-Harappan times.

(viii) **Srughna**

Represented by a small village now called Sugh, the town of Srughna[32] enjoyed considerable importance in ancient times. The old mound lies 30°9′N and 77°23′E, about 5 kms. to the east of Jagadhri, Yugandhara of Sanskrit literature. The earliest reference to Srughna occurs in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[33] where it has been apparently misspelt as Tūrghna. By this time the town had acquired enough prestige to lend its name to the surrounding region since the text describes it as the northern half of the land of Kurukṣetra. There-after, till about the 12th century A.D.,[34] it always remained in lime-light. One reason probably was its location on an important east-west trade route. The road from Mathura to this town has been called Sraughna by Pāṇini.[35] It is also mentioned by the great Varāha Mihira[36] and in the Buddhist works like *Mahāmāyūrī*[37] and *Divyāvadāna*[38] and described in some detail by Hieun Tsang[39] who visited it in the 7th century A.D., and found an Aśokan stūpa and a monastery to the south-west of the city apart from many other stūpas.

The site has been excavated on a modest scale[40] and it has yielded painted grey-ware sherds of inferior quality associated with northern-black-polished-ware and fine grey-ware datable to *circa* 600-500 B.C., Among terracotta figurines, a plaque with a child, seated in a natural pose with a *takhti* and having a lesson on the *svaras* (vowels) dated to the Śuṅga period is of particular interest. Silver punch-marked coins, silver issues of Menander, and inscribed and uninscribed copper cast-coins representing the period from 500 B.C. to 100 B.C. and more recent coins of the Chauhans and Tomaras deserve mention among other finds.

(ix) Khāṇḍavaprastha

The sixteenth century citadel of Purana Qilā (Qalā-i-Kuhna) is supposed to represent the site of Indraprastha, known as capital of the Pāṇḍavas in early literature. As a matter of fact Indarpat is one of the popular names of the fort which was built on the original Hindu foundation by Humayun.[41] It has revealed continuous occupation from the Mauryan to early Mughal period during excavations undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India. The numerous relics and remains of its long and chequered past include an inscription of Aśoka (273-236 B.C.) engraved on a rugged rock of an outcrop of the Aravallis, near Srinivaspuri, west of Kalkaji temple, discovered in 1966.[42]

Indraprastha is well-known to the epics, and the Purāṇas and later Sanskrit literature. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[43] equates it with Khāṇḍavaprastha. So does the *Padma Purāṇa*,[44] according to which it was a part of the Khāḍava forest which was situated on the Yamunā. The *Mahābhārata*,[45] calls it a big place—Bṛhatsthala—and the *Jātakas*[46] describe it as spread over seven *yojanas* which suggests that it had already grown into a big city. The episode, of the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest[47] by Agni with the help of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa and the large scale destruction of the Nāgas, Piśācas Yakṣas and Asuras is probably based on a remote tradition regarding the urbanisation of the region which undoubtedly took place in very ancient times. Khāṇḍavaprastha is associated not only with Yudhiṣṭhira but also with much earlier Vedic kings like Purūravā, Nahuṣa and Yajāti.[48]

Khāṇḍava finds mention in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[49] as the southern half of the sacrificial alter of Kurukṣetra. Much earlier the *Pañcaviṁśa*,[50] one of the oldest Brāhmaṇas, mentions it as the venue of a sacrificial session undertaken by the sages Dṛti and Vātavat in olden times. Another Brāhmaṇa that names it is the *Śaṭyāyanaka*.[51] The site, therefore, deserves a closer attention than it has received so far.

(x) Pṛthūdaka

The town of Pehoa, situated 29°56′N and 76°35′E on the Prācī or eastern Sarasvatī, about 25 kms. west of Thanesar, is undoubtedly the well-known Pṛthūdaka[52] of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. It is placed strategically on the Ambala-Kaithal metalled road and connected by rail and road with Thanesar and Narwana.

Rājaśekhara, in his *Kāvyamīmānsā*,[53] describes it as the eastern limit of Uttarāpathā and it is frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas.

It has given us two important inscriptions of Pratihāra period, the Garibnath Temple Inscription of A.D. 882, and a Praśasti of King Mahendrapāla also of *circa* 9th century A.D.[54] Availability of the painted grey-ware[55] pushes back the antiquity of this site to beyond 1000 B.C. The town lies on a very high mound which is covered with habitation. The site is associated with Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra. Another old site called Arnai covers a big mound near the confluence of the Thanesar-Sarasvatī and Aruṇā-Markanda at a short distance.

Although the earliest literary reference to the site occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, the name Pṛthūdaka owes its origin to king Pṛthu, son of Vena, who is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* apart from many other Vedic works like the *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* and *Pañcavimśa*, *Śatapatha*, *Taittirīya* and *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇas*.[56] He is said to be the seer of *Ṛgveda* X. 148, while *Ṛgveda* X. 93.14 describes him as one of the richest persons. According to *Atharvaveda*, VIII. 10.24, he was the milker, Manu Vaivasvata, the calf and the earth, the cow who yielded the milk of agriculture and crops. He is remembered as the first of consecrated kings, lord of both, the worlds of men and animals and inventor of agriculture.[57]

Evidently Pṛthu was an eminent ruler who also composed Vedic mantras. The town associated with him has an obvious claim to a hoary antiquity which is supported by archaeological evidence.

It will be noted that out of these ten sites, two are located in the Punjab, one in Rajasthan and the rest in Haryana. In this region only the Vedic site of Vinaśana mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and represented by Kalibangan has been properly excavated[58] where the results appear to suggest the equation of the Harappan culture with the age of the Atharvaveda and later Vedic literature.[59] A thorough probe at a few more Vedic sites is necessary to confirm or amend this equation.

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27. See, for instance *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XVI. 8.27-28;9.i.
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57. Rahurkar, V.G., *The Seers of the Ṛgveda* (Poona, 1964), pp. 286-87.
58. Thapar, B.K., *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, ed. by Possehl (Delhi, 1979), pp. 196-202.
59. Bharadwaj, O.P., 'The identification of Vinaśana and some consequential observations'—A paper presented at the Shantiniketan Session of the A.I.O.C. 1980 and published in *Svasti Śri, B.Ch. Chhabra Felicitation Volume* (Delhi, 1983), pp. 205-224.

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19

Identification of Barhismati–Notes and Criticism

In his identification of Svāyambhuva Manu's capital Barhiṣmatī with the modern village Barhi in district Karnal, Haryana, Shri Devendra Handa[1] has built up a hypothesis that beats the proverbial house of cards.

All but one small paragraph of Shri Handa's five-page paper is devoted to the principles of identification of old sites, an elaborate reproduction of the Paurāṇic description of Barhiṣmatī and the country of its location and the final declaration of the doubtlessness of his identification on "archaeological, physio-geographical, traditional, circumstantial and philological grounds".

No serious attempt has been made to verify the existence of the so-called village Barhi adopted by Sh. Handa from a misprint in place of Bahri in Sh. Suraj Bhan's article.[2] He has, therefore, himself to blame if the edifice erected by him crumbles down at the slightest touch.

A glance at the Village Directory and the Karnal district Census Hand Book[3] would show that there is no village named Barhi in Karnal. On the contrary there is one called Bahri.[4] On philological grounds alone one could perhaps be tempted to drag in the process of metathesis of consonants to join Shri Handa in contemplating a possible equation of Barhiṣmatī>Barhi>Bahri>Bahri. But then it would be a folly to depend on philological considerations alone in attempting identifications of ancient sites. Handa himself mentions several other factors of equal importance.[5]

The most significant fact that emerges from the description of Barhiṣmatī in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is its location on the sacred Sarasvatī.[6] The village Bahri does not answer to such a location as erroneously stated by Handa. Nor is it anywhere near what he calls the 'ancient pilgrimage of Varāha'.[7] It is no less

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than 35 miles away from Pehoa or Pṛthūdaka, the nearest point on the Sarasvatī, only about 8 miles from village Barah[8] which is to the south of this canal.[9] If the western Jumna Canal flows in the old bed of the Dṛṣadvatī[10] the village Bahri can more fittingly be described as located on this river rather than on the Sarasvatī. And the discovery of the Early Historic Ware at this site[11] has precious little significance in relation to the hoary antiquity of Barhiṣmatī, the capital of the first ever patriarch-king of ante diluvium Brahmāvarta. In the circumstances an argument based on the love for song and music of the people[12] would be idle talk.

Handa's so called "Identification of Barhiṣmatī" has therefore literally no legs to stand upon. His passing identification of Bindusara with modern Binsar[13] is equally perfunctory to deserve serious notice.

Notes and References

1. Purāṇa Vol. XVII. No. 2. July, 1975, pp. 163-167. The paper was originally presented by Sh. Handa in the Twenty-seventh Session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Kurukshetra in December, 1974. The weakness of the identification was briefly pointed out during discussion by the present writer as well as by the learned president of the section, Prof. Jagannatha Agrawal. But for Sh. Handa's persistence in publishing the same hypothesis without careful re-examination these few lines would not have been necessary.
2. "The Dawn of Civilisation in Haryana," in Haryana-Studies in History and Culture (ed. K.C. Yadav), Kurukshetra, 1968, pp. 1-5; Appendix II, p. 138. Barhi (sic) occurs in the list at serial No. 113.
3. Government of Haryana, Chandigarh, 1971.
4. I have further checked up and confirmed the position with the Deputy Commissioner, Karnal who in his letter dated 27th Sept. 1975 to me writes that "there is no village of the name of *Barhi* in this district. There is, however, a village of the name of *Bahri*".
5. See p. 1 supra.
6. Handa, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
7. *ibid.*, p. 166.
8. Identified with Varāha tīrtha associated with the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, Cunningham, Arch. Survey Report, Vol. XIV. p. 98.
9. For a clear geographical picture of the region, see ¼" sheets of the Survey of India 1954.
10. M.L. Bhargava, the Geography of Ṛgvedic India, Lucknow 1964, p. 55.
11. Suraj Bhan, *op. cit.* p. 113.
12. Handa, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
13. *ibid.* p. 164.

20

Two Ancient Tribes of North India The Mujavats and The Mahavrisas

The Mūjavats and the Mahāvṛṣas can be counted among the most ancient tribal/regional names of north India. In the Ṛgveda the former is definitely mentioned as the name of a region[1] while the latter is probably represented by the tribe of the Viṣāṇins who fought against Sudās in the Dāśarajña battle.[2] The name Mahāvṛṣas, as such occurs only in the Atharva Veda[3] and some later Vedic works.[4]

The two names are often coupled by scholars with the Gandhāris and Bahlikas and located in their vicinity in the north-western part of India. This view is shared by scholars like Muir,[5] Griffith,[6] Roth,[7] Weber,[8] Raychaudhuri,[9] Chakladar,[10] R.C. Jain,[11] and Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya[12] mainly on the basis of references in the Atharva Veda. Keith and Macdonell[13] as well as Pusalkar,[14] place them among northern tribes. Bloomfield[15] is however, not in favour of utilising the Atharva Vedic references for geographical purposes. Since no detailed examination of their identity and location has been attempted so far it is proposed to undertake it here. While doing so we shall draw upon the testimony of Vedic and post Vedic literature as well as archaeological discoveries. Although the Epics and the Purāṇas are undoubtedly works of a much later age it would not be quite reasonable to deny that they have preserved many traditions of great antiquity. Their importance as valuable sources of India's political and cultural history is now generally recognised.[16]

The earliest reference to the Mūjavats and Mahāvṛṣas occur in the following mantras of the hymn to Takman in the Atharvaveda[17]

v. 22 :

4. अधराश्चं प्रहिणोमि नमः कृत्वा तक्मने ।
शकम्भरस्य मुष्टिहा पुनरेतु महावृषान् ।।
5. ओको अस्य मूजवन्त ओको अस्य महावृषाः ।
यावज्जातस्तक्मंस्तावानसि वल्हिकेषु गोचरः ।।
7. तक्मन् मूजवतो गच्छ बल्हिकान्वा परस्तरान् ।
शूद्रामिच्छ प्रकर्व्यं तां तक्मन्वीव धूनुहि ।।
8. महावृषान्मूजवतो बन्ध्वद्धि परेत्य ।
प्रैतानि तक्मने ब्रूमो अन्यक्षेंत्राणि वा इमा ।।
9. अन्यक्षेत्रे न रमसे वशी सन् मृऽयासिनः ।
अभूदु प्रार्थस्तक्मा स गमिष्यति बल्हिकान् ।।
14. गन्धारिभ्यो मूजवद्भयोऽङ्गेभ्यो मगधेभ्यः ।
प्रैष्यन्जनमिव शेवधिं तक्मानं परिदद्मसि ।।

Here in mantra 4 Takman, which undoubtedly represents malarial fever,[18] is addressed as the boxer of Śakambhara and requested to return to the Mahāvṛṣas. Mantra 5 describes the Mūjavats and the Mahāvṛṣas independently of each other as the home of Takman and declares that from the very time of its birth it had been indigenous to the Bahlikas. Mantra 7 prompts Takman to go to the Mūjavants or the Bahlikas farther away and to seek the lecherous Śūdra female and give her a good shake-up. Mantra 8 exhorts Takman to go and eat up its kins-folk, the Mahāvṛṣas, after bypassing the Mūjavats. These two or 'those other' regions are bespoken for Takman. And finally in mantra 14 Takman is committed to the Gandhāris, the Mūjavats, the Aṅgas and the Magadhas like one sends treasure to a person.

The Gandhāris are mentioned only in the last mantra which does not refer to the Mahāvṛṣas while naming the Mūjavats, the Aṅgas, and the Magadhas. There is nothing in the Mantra to justify coupling of the Mūjavats with Gandhāris and not with the Aṅgas and the Magadhas. Bloomfield[19] is therefore right in refusing to make any rigorous geographical deductions from the juxtaposition of these names although they do represent true regional and tribal designations. There is no reason to translate 'Śakambharasya muṣṭihā' literally to connote 'the champion carrier of excrement' or 'the chief or diarrhoea producing diseases' or to equate it with 'the personification of abnormal evacuation'[20] or with one of the 'demons of disease',[21] or again to render it as the 'fist-slayer of the dung-bearer'.[22] Śakambhara is here obviously as much a tribal or regional designation as the other names mentioned in the hymn[23] and it is quite well-known in later history.[24] Whitney's conjecture[25] that Śakambhara qualifies the Mahāvṛṣas who were looked down upon as gatherers of dung for fuel on account of lack of wood in their territory is therefore far-fetched and unwarranted. It must be taken as a proper name as Ludwig and Grill[26] have done. The most appropriate rendering of 'Śakambharasya muṣṭihā' should therefore be 'boxer of Śakambhara' or 'champion of Śakambhara' as adopted by Griffith[27] and Bloomfield[28] respectively. The epithet is undoubtedly intended to suggest the prevalence of Takman or Malaria in the region of Śakambhara.

There is no evidence to support the view that those tribes or regions where Takman is asked to go, were non-Aryan in terms of racial origin.[29] It has never been seriously contended that the Bahlikas and Gandhāris or Aṅgas and Magadhas were non-Aryan.[30] As to the Mahāvṛṣas their king Hṛtasvāśaya Āllakeya is mentioned as one of the early recipients of Amṛtagāyatrā.[31] All the same the hostility of the poet towards them is manifest. The reason is probably two-fold. Firstly these regions were disliked for their inhospitable malarial climate. Secondly—and this reason arises out of the first—they could not be brought under the influence of contemporary Brahmanism early and easily and stuck to religious practices and social norms disapproved by it.[31a] At least this is what the traditions preserved in the Smṛtis and Epics appear to suggest. The Mahābhārata[32] brackets Bahlikas and Gandhāris as people defamed for their unorthodox disposition and speaks of the Madras and Sindhusauvīras as ignorant of Dharma.[32a] It also specifically describes Bahlikas as a sinful place where Viṣṇu is not worshipped.[33] The Manusmṛti[34] appears to regard the land beyond the Sutlej as unfit for residence of cultured people. Aṅgas are often associated with Magadhas in texts[35] and both were outside the sphere of Brahmanic culture. The Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra[36] prescribes the performance of the Sarvapṛṣṭha sacrifice for self-purification by one visiting the Aṅgas. Magadha figures as the name of a people of little repute throughout Vedic literature.[37] In the Sūtras[38] they are connected with the Vrātyas while from the Mahābhārata[39] it appears that they subscribed to Śaivism. In any case as Oldenberg[40] thinks the dislike for them might be due to the fact that they were not really Brahmanised. The Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra[41] assigns tumor to the Mahāvṛṣas and fever to the Mūjavats who as we shall see, occupied the lower portion of the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī doab. Later in the Mahābhāraṭa[42] Yakṣī Ulūkhalamekhalā, living at the Rāma-hrada tīrtha near Jind, discourages pilgrims from staying there for longer than one day and the Vāmana Purāṇa[43] uses almost identical words in case of another tīrtha called Muñjavaṭa in the same area. This apparently was the case with all these lands. Nor does it appear logical to hold that the poet consigns Takman to them because they were better fitted to cope with the ravages of the disease.[44] On the contrary these regions were the home of malarial fever and Takman was the constant dread of their people.[45] In the

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Atharvan hymn quoted above the Mūjavats and Mahāvṛṣas are categorically described as the home of Takman which is also called the 'Champion of the Mahāvṛṣas'.

The situation in this respect does not appear to have changed much even after the lapse of many centuries. For example the eastern Indian provinces in the regions of Aṅga and Magadha remain the home of malaria even now. In parts of Bengal wherever the mortality under fever is unusually high a greater part of the excess over the normal is due to the prevalence of malarial affections.[46] In the land of Gandhāra and Bahlika also one meets with the same situation. The city of Qandahar, the former capital of Afghanistan is located in a fertile oasis near the Darya-ye-Arghandab.[47] In the area of Kabul, although the great lake of Wazirabad has been drained the marshes between the Bala Hissar and Beni Hissar give rise to malaria and other fevers.[48] In Peshawar district inflammatory diseases of the lungs and bowels and malarial fever are prevalent. The principal disease from which the valley, and especially the western half of it suffers is malarial fever, which in years of heavy rain-fall assumes a very deadly form, death often supervening in a few hours.[49] It is not surprising that attempts to eradicate malaria in Afghanistan failed in 1960 and 1970.[50] On this token the Mūjavats and the Mahāvṛṣas should also lie in a tract which is susceptible to malarial fevers. We shall revert to this question again at the proper stage.

Mantra 8 does appear to suggest the contiguity of the Mahāvṛṣas with the Mūjavats. Later in the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra[51] of the Taittirīya Samhitā also they are mentioned together. This mantra 8 is often taken to exhort Takman to go to his kinsfolk the Mahāvṛṣas and the Mūjavats and consume them.[52] We must however take note of the prefix 'para' in 'Paretya'. Muir[53] tries to account for it by translating the mantra as follows :

> 'Passing (us) by, O'friend, devour the Mahāvṛṣas and the Mūjavats. We point out to Takman these or those alien regions.'

But there is no justification for importing the object 'us' in the mantra. Muir renders 'Paretya' as 'passing by' which is the same as 'reaching beyond'. It can be affirmed on the authority of Monier Williams[54] that 'para' occurs as a prefix to nouns and verbs to add the sense of 'away, off, aside, along, on', being akin to 'para' and 'paras'. Parataram (or paras-taram) would thus mean 'further away'. This position regarding 'para' is fully supported by Macdonell in his note on 'para' (beyond) in the chapter on Indeclinables-Prepositional Adverbs of his Vedic Grammar.[55] As he explains 'paras' takes the accusative or ablative in the sense of 'beyond', 'far from', and 'away from' in the Ṛgveda as well as in the Atharva Veda and the Vājasaneyī Samhitā of the Yajurveda. Macdonell illustrates its use with examples like 'paro divaḥ' 'beyond the sky', 'asmāt paraḥ' (viii 27.18) 'far from him', 'tvat paraḥ' (*AV*. xii. 3.39) 'apart from three'. Significantly he also refers to, 'paro Mūjavato' tīhi (*VS*. iii. 61) 'go away beyond (Mount) Mūjavat' observing that the last example may probably be an instance of the accusative with 'paras'—beyond (the tribe of) the Mūjavants'. Here he has hit the nail right on the head since the word Mūjavat occurs in the plural as the name of a tribe in the Atharva Veda. Griffith too, holds the same view as his English translation of this verse V.S. III. 61[56] shows :

> "This Rudra ! is thy food : with this depart beyond the Mūjavans, with bow unstrung, with muffled staff, clothed in a garment made of skin, gracious, not harming us, depart."

Although this mantra exhorts Rudra to go beyond the Mūjavats, it does not specify his exact destination. We suggest that the missing objective here is the country of the Mahāvṛṣas. This would be in keeping with a correct rendering of verses of the Takman hymn of Atharva Veda if the significance of 'para' in 'paretya' is not overlooked. The rendering should be as follows :

> 'Devour 'O friend ! the Mahāvṛṣas reaching beyond (or bypassing) the Mūjavats. These do we point out (offer) to Takman, or those other regions'.

The use of 'these' for the Mūjavats and Mahāvṛṣas suggests their proximity to the country of the poet while 'those other regions' obviously refers to lands situated further away—most probably to the Gandhāris, the Aṅgas and the Magadhas named elsewhere[57] and perhaps even the Bāhlikas[58] and the Śakambharas[59] who were comparatively nearer. We shall presently see how this situation agrees with later evidence.

It would be proper to dwell on the Mūjavats here in more detail. The commentators on V.S. III. 61 explain it as the name of a mountain, the place of Rudra's abode.[60] In the Mahābhārata[61] too it is described as a hill on the heights of the Himavat. The commentator on Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ii. 6.2.17) calls it the 'Northern M ountain'.[62] This view appears to take its cue from the Kāṭhaka[63] and the Maitrāyaṇī[64] Samhitās and the Nirukta[65] which are probably works of about the same age. Weber[66] is inclined to accept the priority of Yāska to the schools and reactions of the Black Yajus bearing the name of Tittiri and Ātreya and detects Yāska's influence in the arrangement of the Samhitā of the Black Yajus. We are inclined to place Kāṭhaka in the same category with these Saṃhitās. While deriving Maujavata, an epithet of Soma, Yāska explains it in his Nirukta[67] as 'grown on Mūjavat' which he takes as the name of a mountain, so called because it abounds in Muñja (saccharum sara), a kind of grass. In this Yāska has undoubtedly given a wrong lead to his contemporaries and successors. While he is obviously right in explaining Mūjavat as 'abounding in muñja' he is wrong in taking it as the name of a mountain. The reason is as simple as it is decisive. Mūjavat cannot be the name of a mountain since muñja does not grow on mountain tops. It is very significant therefore that while explaining the same mantra the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[68] does not construe Mūjavat as the name of a mountain but rightly takes it for a country or tribe.

Botanically known as saccarum sara, saccarum bengalense or saccarum muñja and commonly known in Hindi as muñja, sara, sarkanda or ekar, muñja belongs to a family of grasses which grow well on alluvial sandy banks of streams not subject to water-logging and in very dry situations.[69] It is possessed of great strength and its different parts are used for making ropes and several other items like water-proof screens for walls of huts, chairs and couches, winnowing baskets and sieves.[70] The gazetteers[71] describe it as the characteristic grass of the Ghaggar and Sutlej valleys in the region of Ferozpur, Sirsa, Hansi and Jind districts. In Vedic times also it was one of the very commonly used grasses which undoubtedly grew in the semi arid parts of the land on the alluvial sandy banks of the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī.[72]

The uses to which it was put in the Vedic age were also much the same. Being light in weight it was known as Susira or hollow.[73] Like some other grasses it was regarded as sacred and used in sacrifice for securing protection[74] as well as for medicinal purposes.[75] It was compared with the womb which does not injure the child.[76] It was considered very strong[77] and used for making cords which were utilised in weaving cots and other furniture[78] and for fastening the cattle.[79] A two-pronged three fold Muñja cord, called Viśākhadāman was used to tie a calf, a she-goat and a lamb to a peg in Pravargya.[80] It was used for making the strings of the instrument known as Vīṇa (a harp) which was played at the chanting of a stotra at the Mahāvrata.[81] The plaited part of the throne (Āsandī) was made of Muñja.[82] Cords made of Muñja were used for Mauñjis or girdles for students and ascetics.[83] What is most interesting is that its stalks were used for making ordinary and winnowing baskets (Śūrpa)[84] and sieves woven with its strings were used for filtering the Soma juice.[85]

Evidently Muñja grass was of special utility in the day to day life of the Vedic people and in the region mentioned above it has continued to be so. It stands to reason that the name Mūjavat could not be given to any and every place where Muñja could grow but to an area where it grew in great abundance. It was therefore the name not of a mountain but of the region about the present Jind, Hissar and Sirsa districts or, to be more specific, of the narrowing doab of the Ṛgvedic rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī extending downward to their confluence.

This conclusion can be supported by some other considerations too. Mūjavat was specially known for the production of Soma. Other geographical names connected with Soma are supposed to include Sarasvatī, Suṣoma Śaryaṇāvat, and Patsyāvat Ārjīka, Pañcajanāh, and Kīkaṭa.[86] We are inclined to take Suṣoma and Patsyāvat as adjectives of Śaryaṇāvat and Ārjīka respectively. Śaryaṇāvat was thus known for the production of superior quality of Soma and Ārjīka was in its neighbourhood a district full of houses.[87] Śaryaṇā and Śaryaṇāvat have to be derived from 'śara' which is the same as saccarum sara or sarkanda or muñja. Roth[88] is therefore right in translating Saryaṇāvat as 'covered with a thicket of reeds'. So it should be expected to be situated in or near the region of Mūjavat which abounded in reeds. Sāyaṇa,[89] and long before him the author of the Jaiminīya Brāhmana,[90] also place it in the lower or western part of Kurukṣetra or roughly in the region which later came to be called Haryana including parts of old Hissar and Rohtak Districts and the old Jind and Patiala states roughly embracing the tract lying between 28°.30′ and 30°.N. and 75°.45′ and 76°.30′, E.[91] Indeed, the name Haryana appears to be only a corrupt form of Śaryāṇa or Śaryaṇā representing the change of 'Śa' to 'Ha'[92] which is a very common feature, particularly in case of dialects of Marwari spoken in the contiguous part of the country as innumerable examples like Hibji for Śiva ji, Haukāra for Sahukāra, Hau for Sadhu, Hukhadeva for Sukhadeva, Daha for Daśa and Tohana for Tauṣāyana[93] suggest.

The Ārjikas of the Ṛgveda also lived about the same region. Ṛcīka,[94] was the legendary progenitor of the Bhṛgus who were called Ārcīkas or Ārjīkas after him. Their presence around Jind and Hansi is attested by the existence of the tīrtha named Rāmahrada,[95] after Bhārgava Paraśurāma, about 11 miles to the west of Jind where he is believed to have filled five ponds with the blood of exterminated tyrant Ksatriya kings.[96] The Ārjīkas pressed Soma juice with the Purus who dwelt on the Sarasvatī.[97] The Mahābhārata mentions a lake of Cyavana Bhārgava[98] in Kurukṣetra and a hill called Ārcīkaparvata[99] which have been connected with the lake and hills of Śaryaṇāvān mentioned in the Ṛgveda.[100] In our view the Ārjīkas being Bhārgavas, lived about Rāmahrada in the valley of the Dṛṣadvatī much of whose old bed is now occupied by the western Jumna Canal.[101] Their influence appears to have extended over the lower part of the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī *doab* and at times covered parts of the present district of Mahendragarh with its headquarters at Narnaul. It is noteworthy that both Śaryaṇā and Ārjīkas are mentioned together as accessible to people travelling by carts with lower front wheels.[102] Furthermore the hymns in which they are mentioned are ascribed to the Ṛṣis Punarvatsa Kāṇva (*RV* viii. 7), Bhṛgu Vāruṇi or Jamadagni Bhārgava (*RV* ix. 65) and Kaśyapa Mārīca (*RV* ix. 113) all of whom belonged to the western part of Kurukṣetra. In the age of the bullock-cart the Ārjīkas and Śaryanāvat could not have been far from the home of these poets.

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The existence of the Pañcajanas in the same part of the land is not disputed since they are mentioned on the Sarasvatī which is said to have made them prosperous.[103] And as already stated one of them the Purus were neighbours of the Ārjīkas. The Kīkaṭas, although equated with Magadha in later literature,[104] were also undoubtedly in this very region in the time of the Ṛgveda which connects them with the Kuśikas, Viśvāmitra, Bharatas, Sudās and Jamadagni who was a Bhārgava.[105] K.C. Chattopadhyaya[106] equates them with Naicāśākhas which was another name of Kuruksetra where the Nīcāśākha or the Banyan tree originated.[107] This identification agrees with the description of Kīkaṭas as the land reached shortly after Viśvāmitra crossed the Beas and the Sutlej with Sudās and the Bharatas.[108] It is interesting to note that the Bhṛgus are credited with bringing Agni to Ilāspada or Ilāyāspada,[109] a place described as the navel or centre of the earth in the Ṛgveda[110] and identified with the old mound of Shergarh 1½ miles to the east of Kaithal,[111] and the Bharatas, the people of Viśvāmitra, with placing it there.[112] Bharata princes Devavāta and Devaśravas are said to have kindled the sacrificial fire at Mīnuṣa[113] which has been identified with the village and lake of Manas 5 kms to the west of Kaithal.[114] With their stronghold about Ramahrada the Bhṛgus were in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bharatas.

Not only Mūjavat but all the places associated with the production of Soma were thus connected with the lower half of Kurukṣetra. Any doubt that might still remain should be dispelled by the existence of the vestiges of the name Mūjavat in this region. The mention in the Mahābhārata[115] and the Vāmana Purāṇa[116] of a tīrtha called Muñjavaṭa in the district of Jind and immediately before Rāmahrada should therefore clinch the issue once and for all since it is nothing but another form of Mūjavat. It has been described as a seat of Śiva and the gateway to Kurukṣetra proper. Local tradition[117] places it at the village of Nirjan 6 kms south-east of Jind. Its description as the gate-way to Kurukṣetra[118] would suggest that the tract beyond it, although a part of the country that came to be known later as Kurukṣetra,[119] was once known under its own name of Mūjavat also.

There is, therefore, enough evidence to support the location of the district of Mūjavat extending from the Dṛṣadvatī (whose bed is now used by the western Jumna Canal) near Jind and Ram Rai to the Ghaggar-Sarasvatī covering Hissar and Sirsa on one side and the rest of the doab towards the confluence of these two rivers on the other.

This makes our next task of locating the Mahāvṛṣas easy. According to Mantra 7 Bahlikas lay next to the Mūjavats. The Epics[119a] apply the name Vāhlīka or Vāhīka to the land of six rivers—Sutlej to Indus—stretching from the Sarasvatī to the north and north-west. Mantra 8 places the Mahāvṛṣas also just beyond the

Mūjavats. Apparently they occupied parts of Rajasthan adjoining the western border of the Mūjavats across the Sarasvatī.

This is supported by the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa[120] which explains the name of a Sāman called Rohitakūlīya with the help of an account of a journey undertaken by sage Viśvāmitra to the Mahāvṛṣas. The sage is said to have once travelled to the country of the Mahāvṛṣas with the bullock cart train of the Bharatas. He made a wager with the Mahāvṛṣas on the condition that his two ruddy oxen would carry the vehicle over the steep bank of the river Gaṅgā, or Yamunā, the writer is not sure which Viśvāmitra then composes this Sāman and wins the race.

The author of Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa apparently places the Mahāvṛṣas across the Yamunā or Gaṅgā from the country of the Bharatas. As we have shown elsewhere[121] he is not reliable here. The Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa[122] also offers a similar explanation for the name of the Sāman but mentions a people whom it calls Adanti in place of the Mahāvṛṣas. The authors of both the Brāhmaṇas accept Rohitakūla as the name of a place. However, the Pañcavimśa, which is considered older in date,[123] does not suggest any connection of the wager with a river. It simply says that Viśvāmitra won the race at Rohitakūla by means of this Sāman through his two ruddy oxen. The climbing of a steep bank by his oxen, therefore appears to be the product of imagination of the author of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa which is later in date. Apparently he mistook 'Kūla' in the sense of a 'bank' although there is little scope for doubting that in the name Rohitakūla it represents only the suffix used to form a place-name under Pāṇini's aphorism iv. 2.129.[124] The Kāśikā[125] cites two instances of such formation, namely Dākṣīkūla and Māhakikūla. Both these examples relate to places named after personalities of great antiquity. Dākṣī was the son of Prajāpati Daksa[126] while Māhaki or 'descendent of Mahaka' is the patronymic of a teacher in the Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa.[127] This inference finds support from the fact that the author of the Jaiminīya is himself not sure whether the river was Gaṅgā or Yamunā. Even if a river did play a part in the story it could not be either of these two for the simple reason that the Bharatas and Viśvāmitras are not mentioned as living near them in early Vedic literature. On the other hand, as already noted, Bharata princes are placed near the Sarasvatī, Dṛṣadvatī and Āpayā, all Ṛgvedic rivers of Kurukṣetra. Their connection with the Sarasvatī is also reflected in the association of the goddess Bhāratī, their personified protective power, with this river in the Āprī hymns.[128] Viśvāmitra in one hymn[129] praises the rivers Vipāś (Beas) and Śutudri (Sutlej). He is associated with Jamadagni[130] and Vaśiṣṭha[131] and his hermitage like that of Vaśiṣṭha is placed on the bank of the Sarasvatī even in later tradition.[132]

As a matter of fact Viśvāmitra was himself a Bharata. The Viśvāmitras have been referred to as 'Bharatasya Putrāḥ 'in the Ṛgveda.[133] The Aitreya Brāhmaṇa[134] also alludes to Viśvāmitra as belonging to the tribe of the Bharatas. At another place[135] it refers to him as Bharatarṣabha or the best of the Bharatas. So does the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.[136] Rahurkar[137] is of the view that the Viśvāmitras originally belonged to the Bharata tribe but gradually became their priests. If therefore, Viśvāmitra went to the country of the Mahāvṛṣas with a bullock-cart train of the Bharatas from the central part of the Sarsvatī-Dṛṣadvatī doab, he had apparently to travel only a small distance which agrees well with his slow mode of conveyance. Even if it is difficult to take the story too seriously it would not be unsafe to conclude that it points towards the contiguity of the Mahāvṛṣas with the country of the Bharatas in the age of the Brāhmaṇas.

The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra[138] alludes to a curse pronounced on the Kurus that led to their being driven from Kurukṣetra which was evidently regarded as their home country. According to the geographical definition given in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka[139] this territory of Kurukṣetra had Srughna as its northern half, Khāṇḍava as its southern half, Pariṇah lower half and the Marus or the desert as its Utkara or rubbish heap at the western end. In this situation we have to place the Mahāvṛṣas to the west of the Kurus in the Marus or the adjoining areas of the Rajasthan desert.

This position stands confirmed finally by a direct reference in the Kāṇvīya recension of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[140] which describes Kuru-Pañcālas and Kuru-Mahāvṛṣas as the peculiar home of speech. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya[141] has taken the compound 'Kuru-Mahāvṛṣas to mean the Kurus of the Mahāvṛṣa country', but this construction has no sanction in grammar. 'Kuru-Mahāvṛṣeṣu' is obviously the locative of the Dvandva compound formation 'Kuru-Mahāvṛṣāḥ' meaning 'the Kurus and the Mahāvṛṣas'. The standard example of this compound formation sanctioned in Pāṇini II 4.7 is 'Madrakekayāh'[142] meaning 'the Madras and the Kekayayas'. We come across a host of similar formations in literature from the earliest time and in all these cases territorial contiguity is an essential ingredient.[143] The combinations of Tritsu-Bharatas,[144] Turvaśa-Yadus,[145] Anu-Druhyus,[146] Anga-Magadhas.[147] Śālva-Matsyas,[148] Śavaśa-Uśīnaras,[149] Kāśi-Kosalas,[150] Kuru-Pañcālas,[151] Śūdra-Ābhīras,[152] Matsya-Śurasenas,[153] and Kosala-Videhas[154] are a few similar instances of Dvandva compound based primarily on territorial contiguity. The Māhavṛṣas were therefore an independent tribe having geographically the same relationship with Kurus as the Pañcālas. This should be clear also from the mention of Kurus-Mahāvṛṣas and Kuru-Pañcālas together in the text. The region considered the home of speech was thus covered by three adjoining countries or tribes from the west, the Mahāvṛṣas, the Kurus and the Pañcālas. The Kurus lay in the middle which justifies their being coupled with both, the Pañcālas on the east and the Mahāvṛṣas on the west. The reference in the Kāṇvīya recension of the Śatapatha Brāhmana is therefore only confirming a conclusion justified by independent considerations, Keith and Macdonell[155] are certainly not right in branding it as obscure and unreliable simply because it couples the Kurus with the Mahāvṛṣas. This will be further strengthened by what follows.

It is natural that contiguity with the Kurus should have resulted in social intercourse between them and the Mahāvṛṣas as it did in case of the Pañcālas. Paucity of material on this point is easily offset by the few available instances which are unmistakably clear in their import. Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakeya, king of the Mahāvṛṣas was a contemporary of the Kuru king Janamejaya Pārikṣita. Both were associated with the sage Dantāla Dhaumya, also called Dantāvala Dhaumra. The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa[156] describes Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakeya as a pupil of Dhaumya who was the son of Vyāghrapada and grandson of Vasiṣṭha.[157] According to the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa[158] Janamejaya Pārikṣita approached Dhaumya for explaining Puṇya and appointed his pupil Veda as his priest. The field of activity of the Dhaumyas was Kuruksetra and the Mahābhārata[159] later presents one Dhaumya as a priest, of the Pāṇḍavas and greatly interested in their welfare. Devala, brother of this Dhaumya, was also a contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira[160] while the former's son Asita, author of the Asita Sāman, appears as a contemporary and associate of Madhuchhandas son of Viśvāmitra.[161] This supports the possibility of a Viśvāmitra being a younger contemporary of a Vasiṣṭha since they are both described in the Mahābhārata[162] as living on the banks of the sacred Sarasvatī.

Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakeya was an illustrious ruler of his time and most well-known of the Mahāvṛṣas. He was deeply interested in religious and spiritual matters. The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa[163] speaks of his initiating his son in a sacrifice with Somaśuṣma Sātyayajñi Prācinyogya as Udgātā. According to the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmana[164] Prācīnayogya had also imparted Amṛta Gāyatra to king Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakeya who too had approached him for being initiated in a Samvatsara sacrifice. Prācīnyogya, Śvetaketu Āruni and Yājñavalkya were all together in a group when Janaka came across them.[165] One of the ancestors of Prācīnayogya called Śauceya Prācīnayogya, is said to have approached Uddālaka Āruṇi for the knowledge of Brahmodya and Agnihotra.[166] He also figures in the time of the descendents/disciples of Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka who was the priest of Janamejaya Pārikṣita at his Aśvamedha sacrifice at Āsandīvat,[167] rightly identified with the present town of Asandh in district Karnal of Haryana.[168] The name Somaśuṣma carries special significance because his family known after him as Somaśuṣma Gṛhapatis belonged to Naimiśāryaṇa and they had the sage Śitibāhu Aiśakṛta Naimiśi as their Adhvaryu.[169] The original Naimiśa forest was also located in the lower part of Kurukṣetra stretching from the Dṛṣadvatī towards the Sarasvatī.[170] According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[171] one Somaśuṣma Vājaratnāyana had anointed the ancient Bharata king Śatānīka Satrājit.

Another Mahāvṛṣa king Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa is mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad[172] where he approaches sage 'Raikva of the Car' for instruction about his favourite deity and offers him first a chariot yoked with a pair of mules, six hundred heads of cattle and a necklace and then increases it to a thousand heads of cattle with the hand of his own daughter and the villages in which Raikva lived. The second offer was accepted and the group of villages where Raikva stayed in the Mahāvṛṣas came to be called Raikvaparṇa after him. We do not get any information about the family or home of Raikva in literature. In the Skanda Purāṇa[173] the same story is retold with the only change that Jānaśruti traces Raikva to the Gandhamādana peak of the Himalayas while in the Padma Purāṇa[174] the sage is traced to Kashmir. The conflicting change of venue of the story in both cases has to be dismissed as a fanciful innovation introduced much later.

There is thus enough evidence to show that almost all personalities connected with the Mahāvṛṣas or their kings belonged to Kurukṣetra. The last episode, as related in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, however, holds two clues of very crucial importance for exactly pinpointing the location of the Mahāvṛṣas. Firstly when approached by the king for knowledge in exchange for six hundred cows, a necklace and a chariot yoked with a pair of mules Raikva addresses him as 'Śūdra' and tells him to keep these things with himself. Again when Raikva accepts a thousand cows, a necklace, a chariot yoked with mules and the king's daughter for his wife and agrees to impart knowledge he addresses the king as 'Śūdra'. The scholiast rightly takes this address as derogatory because he thinks that Raikva felt annoyed either on account of smallness of the gifts or the mercenary attitude of the king who wanted to acquire knowledge by offering for its riches instead of personal devotion.[175] Such use of the word Śūdra as a term of contemptuous address can be supported with more instances from Vedic literature. In the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa[176] Sudakṣiṇa Kṣaimi is berated as a Śūdra for his poor knowledge of the Vedic lore by his class-mates Prācīnaśāli and the Jābāla brothers. The former retorts that their disputation should be in a gathering predominated by the Kuru-Pañcālas and they should not dispute like Śūdras without witnesses.[177] A little later in the same text[178] the younger of the Jābāla brothers rebukes the other as Śūdraka or a petty Śūdra for the language he was using.

The occasion and the exalted status of the king perhaps demanded the use of a less strong term like Rājanyabandhu[179] if at all, but Raikva prefers to address him repeatedly as 'Śūdra' and the reluctance with which he condescends to impart knowledge does betray not only lack of respect but positive contempt. Isn't it possible then that the word 'Śūdra is used here as a name contemptuously given to the tribe of Mahāvṛṣas to which the king belonged ? There is nothing that could militate against such a possibility. On the contrary there is definite evidence of the existence of a tribe called Śūdras. Later they figure among those tribes which were vanquished by Alexander (326 B.C.) and the Greek writers refer to them as Sodrai, in association with the Massanoi and the Mausikanoi all of whom occupied portions of Sind.[180] In the Mahābhāṣya[181] and the Mahābhārata[182] they are associated with the Ābhīras. The Great Epic[183] places them in the region where the Sarasvatī vanishes in the desert of Rajasthan around Vinaśana and the Purānas[184] locate them with the Vāhlikas, Vātadhānas, Ābhīras, Pahlavas, Saurāṣṭras, Arbudas, and Mālavas *etc*. The compound formation Śūdrābhīrāh makes them the neighbours of the Ābhiras, who evidently adjoined their territory on the west-south-west. Their eastern limit was Vinaśana which was the western limit of Kurukṣetra. Vinaśana was thus the common border between the Śūdras and the Kurus.

The second clue is provided by the name Raikvaparṇa of the village(s) which the king gave to Raikva in token of his stay there. There is a clan among the Rajputs of northern Rajasthan known by the name of Raika. Many families of these Raikas are living in tehsil Nohar of district Ganganagar in several villages including Pandusar, Dhani Raikan, Naiyasar, Dhirdesar and Moter.[185] The location of these villages agrees perfectly with the situation of Raikvaparṇa in the territory of the Mahāvṛṣas. It is of particular interest that in the Chāndogya text the name Raikvaparṇa has been given to a cluster of several villages and the Raikas of Ganganagar are also occupying a group of villages. The affinity of the present name Raika with Raikva is too apparent to require any justification. During the past three or four millennia the name has only lost its final 'va' in the phonetic process of elision which is most natural. It would not be wrong therefore to trace to Raikva the origin of the Raikas who are still living in Rajasthan across the western border of ancient Kurukṣetra.

We then find earlier the Mahāvṛṣas and later the Śūdras occupying one and the same territory and the king of the Mahāvṛṣas being addressed as a Śūdra. It follows that the two names represented the same tribe although the name Mahāvṛṣa gradually faded out of circulation while the appellation of Śūdra took its place, in all probability, as a result of their political and social decline and their ostractization by the Bharatas. Even their totem Vṛṣa was made to yield the derivative 'Vṛṣala' which denotes a contemptible man. In this situation it will not be wrong to define the territory of the Mahāvṛṣas as roughly bounded by the Kurus on the east and reaching in the west into the part of Rajasthan later associated with the Ābhīras.

We have seen above that the countries of the Mūjavats and Mahāvṛṣas have been described in the Atharva Veda as the home of malarial fever. The gazetteer[186] records that in the region of district Hissar the mosquitoes and sandflies do their best to make life a burden and in the Ghaggar valley, in the rains, the danki a large gnat, drives men and animals wild and the villagers have often to take away their camels and cattle into the dry country to avoid its attacks. Prevalence of malarial fever is recorded in the district of Jind too.[187] In 1892-1896 fever caused 64 per cent of the total mortality and 50 per cent in the next five years, the improvement being probably due to the increased distribution of quinine. The situation must have been much worse when the Dṛṣadvatī was a perennial river. The situation does not register any change as we proceed along this belt south-westward in Rajasthan. In the dry climate of Rajputana the malarial and splenic affections are reported to have accounted for more than 18 per cent of the illness cases with a large portion in the tract of Bikaner.[188] Further on even between Jaipur and Jodhpur, where the town and lake of Śakambhara or Sambhar lies, wide prevalence of malarial fevers often erupting into severe outbreaks was recorded around the beginning of this century.[189] The description of Takman as the 'champion of Śakambhara' in the Atharva Veda is therefore fully justified. Equally befitting is then the situation of the Mahāvṛṣas as the western neighbours of the Kurus if their land was the home of Takman.

Finally, the name Mahāvṛṣa is obviously totemic[189a] and signifies 'the country of great bulls' which is literally true of the regions on the western fringe of Kurukṣetra and the adjoining areas where we have located the Mahāvṛṣas. These regions were known for the Haryana breed of the indigenous Zebu cattle of India, which in their pure form, were associated *inter alia* with parts of Hissar, Rohtak and Gurgaon districts of Haryana and the old states of Jind, Nabha, Patiala, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Loharu, and Alwar. This breed is one of the best dual purpose breeds in India. The bullocks are powerful work-animals and milk production of the cow is estimated on the average to about 3000 pounds per lactation.[190] The bullocks are excellent for fast transport and ploughing. The popular colour is white or light grey. They have a compact and proportionately built body with a long and narrow face, a flat forehead and a distinct bony prominence at the centre of the poll. The head is carried high, giving a graceful appearance to the animal. The neck is short and thick with a big and well-developed hump. The sheath is short and tight, the navel flap is almost absent. The legs are moderately long and lean, the feet small and well-shaped. The tail is rather short, thin and tapering towards the end, with a good black switch reaching just below the hocks.[191] The horns are fine and rather short. They are carried horizontally when short and when long, curve upwards and inwards.[192]

All in all we have here the description of a handsome animal. No wonder this breed has been much in demand not only in other parts of India but also even abroad in countries like Jamaica and Brazil and the Dutch colonies in Java.[193] It need not look surprising therefore, that the people of the region adopted the bull as their totem, displayed its horns on their helmets which earned them the name of Viṣāṇins[194] and then with the increase in their prestige, came to be called

Mahāvṛṣas after the special breed of its Zebu which, in an age when cattle wealth and particularly the animal on which agriculture mainly depended was held in high esteem. This could be the only possible *raison d etre* for the totemic name of the Mahāvṛṣas.

Having established the plausibility of the location of the Mūjavats in the lower part of Kurukṣetra in the Dṛṣadvatī-Sarasvatī doab and that of the Mahāvṛṣas further beyond them towards the west bordering on the tract of Vinaśana in their east and reaching deeper into Rajasthan we may now see if it is possible to probe further into the identity of these tribes and their social and religious affiliations.

Although, as we have seen, the Mūjavats lay between the Kurus and the Mahāvṛṣas this position is not specifically recognised in the Brāhmaṇas which club the last two tribes in a Dvandva compound formation normally employed in case of neighbouring states. This implies that by the age of the Brāhmaṇas the Mūjavats had lost their separate entity and become part and parcel of Kurukṣetra which embraced the whole doab extending upto Vinaśana in the west. Such an inference is also supported by the geographical definition of Kurukṣetra as available in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka which gives Pariṇah as its lower half, a position that should have been theirs by right. This situation has a possible explanation.

If we go into the association of god Śiva with the Mūjavats we are persuaded to conclude that their land was the likely birth-place of the Śiva-Rudra cult which soon found a better base in the Mahāvṛṣas to prosper and spread from. It is relevant in this connection to consider if the tribe of the Śivas mentioned in the Ṛgveda[195] alongwith the Viṣāṇins among the enemies of Sudās refers to the Mūjavats who were their neighbours. These Śivas are equated with the Śibis of the Brāhmaṇas and later literature.[196] As Allan[197] remarks we have in their case, as in case of the Mālavas, literary references indicating a people in the upper Punjab and coins from Rajputana only. One Śibi king Amitra Tapana *Śuṣmiṇa* is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[198] and another appears as an ideal of self-sacrifice in Buddhist legend.[199] Greek accounts[200] of Alexander's campaign mention them as Siboi and locate them between the Indus and the Chenab. The Mahābhārata[201] describes them with the Trigartas and Mālavas as conquered by Nakula and as paying tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira along with the Trigartas and Yaudheyas. Varāhamihira[202] places them in the north with the Mālavas and the people of Taxila and also with the Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas.

Some more facts deserve special notice. King Śibi son of Uśīnara is mentioned in the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra[203] as a protege of Indra, who sacrificed for him on the Vārṣīṣṭhīya plain and saved him from fear of foreign invasion. The Great Epic and the Purāṇas also agree that Śibi was one of the five sons of Uśīnara (8th in descent from Anu son [of Yayāti) born from five different queens. Śibi was born to Dṛṣadvatī.[204] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[205] places the Uśīnaras with the Vaśas and Kuru-Pañcālas in the Madhyadeśa. So does the Kauśītakī Upaniṣad.[206] The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa[207] calls them northerners. Later like the Mahābhārata the Harivamśa Purāṇa connects Uśīnara with Yaudheyas.[208] The Uśīnaras were a tribe of equal antiquity with the Śivas since the Ṛgveda[209] too mentions Uśīnarāṇī, a queen of an Uśīnara king and the Anukramaṇī of the Ṛgveda ascribes one hymn (X. 119) to Śibi Auśīnara. Uśīnara and Śibi were both powerful kings as is evident from the fact that their land and people were called Śibis and Uśīnaras after each of them. The Mahābhārata[210] describes Uśīnara as king of the Śibis and his son Śibi as king of the Uśīnaras. In the episode of Draupadī's abduction from Kāmyaka forest[211] by Jayadratha, king of Sindhu Sauvīra,[212] the latter is accompanied by Koṭikāśya king of the Śibis.[213] Jayadratha was on his way to the Śālvas[214] who were on the banks of the Yamunā above Yugandhara,[215] present Jagadhri, which required his passing through the country of the Śibis if they were located to the east of Vinaśana and in that case it would be most natural for their king Koṭikāśya to join him. Noteworthy too is the name Vṛṣadarbha[216] of one of the sons of king Śibi Auśīmara who inherited the ancestral land.[217] This name associates the Śibis with Vṛṣas or bulls and Darbha grass (Demostachya bipinnata), also called Kuśā (Poalynosuroides[218]) which is of particular significance since both these attributes apply to the Mūjavats a large tract of which formed a part of the belt that produced good breed of bulls and the Darbha or Kuśa grass which like Muñja grew in abundance in semi-arid parts of Vedic India.[219] In view of the connection of Śibi with Uśīnaras who in their turn are connected with the Kuru-Pañcālas and Yaudheyas in the Madhyadeśa the authors of the Vedic Index[220] are right in rejecting Zimmer's view, who locates them in the north-west between the Indus and Akesines (Chenab), and in placing them in the middle country in accordance with the references in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and later literature. Add to this the fact of Śibi's origin from Yayāti and his birth from a queen named Dṛṣadvatī and the Śivas easily fit into the region of the Mūjavats.

The Śivas or Śibis were thus a particularly mobile people who originally occupied the Mūjavat country being neighbours of the Viṣāṇin-Mahāvṛṣas and later moved away towards the north-west before turning downward into Rajasthan. The process must have started very early in their history—possibly on the crushing defeat inflicted by Sudās, in the Dāśarājña conflict on the ten tribes of whom they were one. Large scale movements of tribes from the north towards east and West, in very early times, are not unknown. This is evident from the presence of several tribes and communities at a later stage, far away from their original habitat[221] as well as from the transplantation of geographical names to other regions from the earliest centre of civilisation in India.[222] To cite only one instance the Mahābhārata[223] records the flight of a number of tribes from the upper region of Kurukṣetra towards the south and west out of fear of king Jarāsandha.

Muñjavān as a peak of the Himalayas is, of course, well known as the place of frequent austerities of Śiva.[224] So is Kailāśa.[225] But as we have suggested above the transfer of the name Muñjavān to the Himalayas is a later development. It is interesting to note that the Mahābhārata[226] associates the Uśīnaras with the Yamunā too and a mountain named Uśīragiri[227] or Usīraddhaja in Buddhist literature, obviously the same as Uśīnaragiri of the Kathāsaritsāgara,[228] is placed near Kanakhala-Haradvara.[229] Apparently, the Uśīnaras—parent clan of the Śivas—had at some stage moved towards the Haradvāra Himalayas and carried the cult of Śiva-Rudra to that region. That is how a Himalayan peak came to be called Muñjavaṭa. It must be remembered that Śiva marries Pārvatī, daughter of Himālaya only after the death of Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa.[230] We should not be surprised therefore to come across the presence of the Daityas on mount Meru along with their guru Śukra to whom even Kubera looked for 1/4 share of income to meet his own expenses[231] or to find Kubera being anointed as the lord of Yakṣas and Rākṣasas on mount Kailāśa.[232] However, the association of Śiva with Muñja and Mūjavat dates back to a much earlier age. Muñjakeśa is one of the names given to him on account of his Muñja-like braids.[233] And the tīrtha of Muñjavaṭa near Jind in Kurukṣetra is connected with him. According to the Mahābhārata[234] a night's stay at this place earns one the status of Śiva's Gaṇapati. Bhṛgu, the progenitor of the Bhārgavas, who belonged to this region, is said to have been adopted as his own son by god Śiva in the form of Varuṇa.[235] Śukra came out of Śiva's liṅga and was therefore regarded by Pārvatī as her own son.[236] Paraśurāma propitiated Śaṅkara and received from him the knowledge of archery and various missiles alongwith the mantras for firing them.[237] He was also taught Śaṅkaragītā by the god.[238] His connection with the Śiva-cult is indeed maintained to the present day, the temples of Kāli having a special shrine to him, owing to the legend that his mother Reṇukā was revived by her head being placed on the body of a Pariah woman.[239] And the large-scale movement of the Bhārgavas from their home land and their association with Gujarat in later tradition[240] is too well-known to need more than a passing reference. The tribal name of Śivas or Śibis therefore eminently befits the people of Mūjavat.

Even if it involves some digression it is interesting to note here that the Bhāradvājas who were the priests of Divodāsa[241] specially cultivated the cult of Pūṣan. The sixth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda reflects primarily the literary and religious activities of the Bhāradvājas and it is Pūṣan who is mainly lauded here.[242] And the Bhāradvājas were a distinguished branch of the ancient Aṅgirasas. Indeed the Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi Bhāradvāja was the son of Bṛhaspati and grandson of Aṅgiras.[243] The Bhāradvājas and their cult of Pūṣan were both associated with the Sarasvati.[244]

All these facts place them about the region of Mūjavats. On a statistical consideration of the Vedic references to Pūṣan it has been surmised that the Pūṣan cult was later adopted by the Kāṇvas and then by other clans.[245] They too belonged to the same country. Sobhari Kāṇva is said to have praised Indra, Citra and Sarasvatī when rats began to harass him by snatching away the corn and various oblations at his sacrifice in Kurukṣetra.[246] Another fact that demands attention is that Pūṣan is given the epithet of Paśupā 'Protector of Cattle' in Ṛgveda[247] which is strikingly similar to Paśupati, a title later acquired by Rudra-Śiva. Already in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[248] Pūṣan is called Adantaka or 'Toothless' and later Rudra is described as the breaker of the teeth of Pūṣan.[249] In this context it might be pertinent to see how far the cult of Rudra fed upon the mythology of Puṣan which unfortunately is difficult to reconstruct now.[250] But this would require an independent study. To recall here Viśvāmitra's journey to the Mahāvṛṣas we have already noted that according to the version of the Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa[251] which is considered older in date,[252] he made and won a wager with a people called Adanti. As their name suggests these Adantis were apparently the worshippers of Pūṣan the Adantaka and hence the people of the Bhāradvāja clan. Viśvāmitra was bound to come across them in Mūjavats since they fell on his way from the country of the Bharatas to that of the Mahāvṛṣas. This happened in the early Vedic times before the Dāśarājña Battle.

As in the case of a section of the Purus who earned the label of Mṛdhravācah (of vile speech) for opposing Sudās[253] only a faction of the Mūjavat-Śivas appears to have persisted in their hostility towards the Kuru-Bharatas and preferred separation from their homeland to a compromise and merger. There is evidence pointing to the fact that many of them switched their loyalties and joined the enemy. It is quite possible that Śukra himself played a part in this patch up. This inference is justified from the story that it was his own curse which destroyed the Demons.[254] The story of his passing the Mṛtasañjīvanī Vidyā to the Devas through Kaca, the son of his rival Bṛhaspati, also points in the same direction.[255] So does the defection of his descendants Ṣaṇḍa and Marka from the side of the Daityas to join the Devas.[256] These were the elements which apparently engineered the occupation of their land by the Kuru-Bharatas and embraced the latter's beliefs and practices. The Atharva Veda itself betrays this situation when it asks Takman to bypass the Mūjavats and devour the Mahāvṛṣas even while bespeaking both the countries to the 'dreaded fever'.[257] This is the explanation of the poet's partiality for the Mūjavats and the early merger of their country in Kurukṣetra.

In its early part the story of the Mahāvṛṣas also appears to run on similar lines. Association with the cult of Śiva-Rudra seems to be a trait shared by them with the people of Mūjavats. Although, being the Epic of the Kurus, the Mahābhārata contains more material on Kurukṣetra it does mention a Śaiva tīrtha beyond Vinaśana and a cluster of Śaiva tīrthas between Vinaśana and the confluence of Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī in the account of Balarāma's pilgrimage upstream along the river. The tīrtha Saptacaru is named a little before Vinaśana for its association with Guhyakas, Kinnaras, Yakṣas and particularly with the worship of Rudra, Mahādeva.[258] Another tīrtha called Śivodbheda figures in the list soon after Vinaśana[259] and the third named Rudrakoṭi comes immediately before the confluence.[260] The connection of these two with Śiva is evident from their very names but it is worth noting about the latter that it is said to have been always overcrowded with sages coming for a glimpse of Śiva Vṛṣabhadhvaja who, out of consideration for them, created one crore Rudras.

Let us have a second look at V.S. III.61. which has been examined above from a different angle. The poet offers Rudra some food for his journey and then requests him to depart without harming him and to go beyond the Mūjavats with his bow unstrung, with his staff muffled, clothed in a garment made of skin and with a gracious mood. The preceding mantras 57-60 contain a prayer to Rudra for prosperity and freedom from death *etc.* This mantra too asks him to go in peace and good will since otherwise he won't be required to unstring his bow and muffle his staff. Evidently both the countries, the one he is leaving and the one he is visiting, are in his good grace. He is not hostile to them. He is rather their favourite god. And what are these countries ? The very next mantra 62 refers to Jamadagni and Kaśyapa. The former was a Bhārgava, the son of Bhṛgu and father of Paraśurama.[261] Regarding Kaśyapa the Mahābhārata[262] says that this Ṛṣi was the priest at the horse sacrifice performed on the bank of the Sarasvatī by Paraśurāma after exterminating the Ksatriya race twenty-one times. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[263] the Kaśyapas are associated with a sacrifice performed by Janamejaya Pārikṣita. They were his hereditary priests. We hear of two sacrifices of Janamejaya Pārikṣita in the Brāhmaṇas, one at Āsandīvat[264] or Asandh and another probably at Kāroti[265] near Nohar in Rajasthan, just across the border of Haryana State. Both these towns are on the old bed of the Dṛṣadvatī.[266] The Vāmana Puraṇa[267] places the hermitage of Kasyapa in Kurukṣetra. Evidently both Jamadagni and Kaśyapa hailed from the country of the Mūjavats. The authorship of the Vājasaneyī Samhitā is traditionally ascribed to Yājñvalkya who belonged to the land of the Kuru-Pañcālas.[268] In the situation the two countries meant in the mantra as seekers of Rudra's grace have to be the Mūjavats and their neighbours the Mahāvṛṣas.

We have already suggested the possibility of a common identity of the Mahāvṛṣas with the Viṣāṇins who figure in the Ṛgveda as one of the tribes defeated by Sudās. It has been postulated[269] that the three-faced horned god seated in yogic posture and surrounded by animals on some steatite seals discovered at Mohenjodaro represent the tribal deity of these Viṣāṇins. Some terracotta cakes

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and seals recovered from Mohenjodaro carry figures with horns on their heads and they have been taken for gods, priests or votaries.[270] A large number of horned dolls have also been recovered from Harappa and Mohenjodaro.[270a] The Ṛgvedic Viṣāṇins also probably wore horns on their heads as their name signifies. In Ṛgveda 1.33.12, the chief Śuṣṇa is called Śṛṅgin (horned) which strengthens this position. That the horns in question were of the bull is indicated by the expression Vṛṣaśipra (having the head-dress shaped like that of a bull)[271] used in Ṛgveda vii 99.4. The suggestion obviously implies the identification of the Viṣāṇins with the people of Harappa and Mohenjodaro.[272] Marshall[273] equated the three-faced horned figure with Paśupati and identified it with a prototype of the historic Śiva. K.N. Sastri[274] takes it as a representation of a composite god with a buffalo head, scorpion-arms, tiger-waist and serpent legs whom he connects with the Purāṇic Mahiṣāsura, and considers nearer to a prototype of the Vedic Rudra. While the Mahiṣāsura connection of the figure looks rather farfetched its identification with Paśupati appears to be quite plausible. The importance accorded to bull in Harappan culture makes it more likely that the composite form has in it actually a bull which is mistaken by Sastri for a buffalo.

J.N. Banerjea[275] agrees with Marshall's interpretation of this Indus Śiva as a prototype of the Epic and Purāṇic Mahāyogī Śiva Paśupati. He finds the ithiphallic nature of the seated figure its particularly interesting trait, although a little indistinct. In support of Marshall he draws attention to two other seals found at the same place, both showing a god seated in yogic posture with Nāgas (human in form) with hands uplifted in prayer leaning on either side. According to Banerjea[276] this device is another way of representing proto-Śiva, an object of worship by the very ancient people of the locality. He further refers with approval to some composite figures found engraved on the seals unearthed at Mohenjodaro and Harappa as reminiscent of the hybrid figures of Pramathas and Gaṇas, the impish attendants of the historic Śiva.[277] According to R.N. Dandekar[278] also the distinguishing attributes of the Indus god, such as nudity, ithiphallicism, three faces and horns, pectoral round the neck, yogic posture, association with animals and snakes *etc.*, proclaim him to be the proto-type, in his most essential aspects, of Śiva of classical Hindu mythology. Dange[279] notes also the similarity of the hair-styles between Rudra (having a Kaparda) and the Indus god of fertility called Paśupati who has the braided hair-dress in one of the seals.[280]

A large number of seals carrying representations of bulls have been found at Harappan sites and among terracotta figurines the largest number of toys are bulls.[281] The seals broadly represent three varieties of bulls,[281a] the grand Indian bull with a prominent hump and large curving horns with garlands round the neck akin to the Gujarati breed called Kankrej, a smaller humpless animal and a short-horned, well built and fierce looking bovine beast in a charging posture.[282]

The last variety was the bull in favour next to the Urus bull at Mohenjodaro.[283] At Harappa the humped variety preponderates over the humpless one.[284] And a beautiful copper specimen of this dynamic variety has been found at Kalibangan also at the Harappan level.[285] It is generally conceded that the bull, both humped and humpless, was deified by the Harappans.[286] Mackay[287] goes a step further and allows the possibility that then, as now, the bull was regarded as the vehicle of god Śiva. Dandekar[288] is quite positive that the worship of proto-Śiva constituted a prominent feature of the Indus religion. It is therefore not unsafe to accept the popularity of the Rudra-Śiva cult in the Indus culture.

In contrast we rarely come across any seals or terracotta representing a bull at the pre-Harappan level at any site in or near the region of the Mahāvṛṣas. The logical explanation of this situation would be that the Rudra-Śiva cult had not yet gained noticeable provenance in the pre-Harappan times. It spread in the region only during the several centuries intervening between the pre-Harappan and Harappan cultures and gained popularity reflected in archaeological finds. Indeed if the Viṣāṇins of the Ṛgveda were the Mahāvṛṣas of the Atharva Veda and later Vedic literature then from archaeological evidence it would appear that the change from their original lack-lustre name to a much more exalted appellation literally signifying importance and strength is indicative of their gradual acquisition of power and prestige. Then it would also be proper to equate the Viṣāṇins of Ṛgveda with the pre-Harappans and the Mahāvṛṣas of the Atharva Veda with the Harappans of this region. It would be the case of the same people progressing from an earlier to a later and more progressive stage of culture.

It also deserves to be noted *en passant* that the bull motif finds appearance further west and in the middle east also around the Harappan age. In Asia minor bull was worshipped from time immemorial[289] and its main mountain-range bears the name Taurus.[290] In the Ubaid culture of southern Babylonia bull's horns were regarded as a symbol of strength.[291] In Uruk and Jamdet Nasr periods gods were given bull's horns to discriminate them from men.[292] A victory stele of the Akkadian king Naram Sin depicts him as a god with bull's horns.[293] We come across a man-head with horns on early Indus pottery at Kot Diji[294] and horned men at Tape Yahya about 2300 B.C.[295] Bull motif is found on carved vases from Iran about 2500 B.C.[296] a copper bull from EL Ubaid about 2450 B.C.,[297] bull-shaped standard in bronze and silver from Alaca Huyuk in the age of the Hittites and Urartu[298] and an enamelled terracotta guardian bull from Choga Zambil about 1250 B.C..[299] The existence of trade-relations between the Indus people and their contemporaries in middle-east is now well-established[300] and according to one view shared by prominent scholars like Rev. H. Heras,[301] Poisson,[302] Hall,[303] Haddon,[304] Pirenne,[305] and Crowley,[306] to name only a few there is evidence of large-scale movements of people from India towards the

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middle east in pre-historic and proto-historic times.[307] A.R. Mironov[308] regards the ruling classes of the Kassites, Hyksos, Mitannis and Hittites in the Near East of the second millerary B.C. as Indian and E. Meyer[309] also takes the so called Indo Europeans of Mitanni as specifically Indian although on their way to the east. Indian origin of the names of Vedic gods like Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas invoked in the Hittite-Mitanni treaty of 14th century B.C. and words like Aikavartanna, Teravartanna, Panzavartanna and Sattavartanna corresponding to Sanskrit Ekavartana *etc.*, in a Mitanni treatise on chariot racing is now well known.[310] Ṛgveda VII. 100.4.[311] is believed to contain a reference to the colonisation by Vedic Indians of Ur & Kish in Mesopotamia.[312] According to Haddon[313] first invasion of Mesopotamia by Indians took place soon after 4000 B.C. Barton[314] also admits the possibility of the Indus Valley origin of the Sumerians. Fragments of vases of Indian potstone were found at Al Ubaid[315] and Al Ubaid culture is dated to 4000-3500 B C. [316] Harappan seals carrying the humped bull motif were discovered at Ur[317] also. Whereas therefore it would be difficult to rule out the possibility of a connection of these traces of the bull motif with the Harappan Mahāvṛṣas it is neither possible nor necessary for our purpose to go into this question in greater detail here. Suffice it to say that the humped bull is a breed specifically Indian in ancient times, the characteristic hump differentiating it from contemporary domesticated breeds elsewhere in western Asia.[318]

This gradual rise to importance of the bull and the development of the Rudra-Śiva cult is reflected in literature also.

We do find the bull already deified in the Rgveda[319] where it symbolises many gods like, Sūrya, Indra, Parjanya, Agni, Rudra and Dyaus.[320] It is also compared to Yajña (sacrifice) and Rta (cosmic order).[321] It is however a little later in the Atharva Veda that it receives its true glorification and emerges in its really imposing status.[322] Here it is invested with power to support the wide-spread earth and heaven as also the spacious air between them,[323] to pierce the demons with its horns, banish famine with its eyes and hear good tidings with its ears.[324] It is clothed in the form of Indra, identified with both the arms of Varuṇa, the vigour of Indra, the hump of Maruts and the shoulders of Asvins. It is suggested that the bull should be called Bṛhaspati, the lord of wisdom and it is equated with Indra and Sarasvān, the male consort of Sarasvatī.[325] In short the concept of bull as identical with Dharma appears fully developed in the Atharva Veda.[326]

The evolution of the character and stature of Śiva-Rudra also follows an identical pattern. He occupies a relatively subordinate position among the Ṛgvedic gods.[327] Although he is armed with a bow and arrow he is in importance lesser than Viṣṇu.[328] Although he wields the lightning and the bolt (Vajra) he is not yet as fearful a destroyer of demons as Indra.[329] In later Saṁhitās and

Brāhmaṇas he equals Viṣṇu in importance[330] and his malevolence becomes more prominent.[331] It is in the Atharva Veda that he acquires the epithet of 'Paśupati' for the first time.[332] In the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā he is described as Agni, Aśani, Paśupati, Bhava, Śarva, Īśāna, Mahādeva and Ugradeva *etc.*[333] In the Brahmaṇas his powers reach their acme and even the gods are afraid of him.[334] It is however, particularly noteworthy that from a comparatively subordinate position in the Ṛgveda he already acquires the position of Pasupati in the Atharva Veda. And it is hardly necessary to draw attention to the generally accepted fact that most of the early Vedic literature was composed about the land of Kurukṣetra in the valley of the Sarasvatī.

Apparently we have here virtually in the same land and in the same time span, the spectacle of the parallel evolution of the small tribe of Viṣāṇins to the powerful Mahāvṛṣas, of the deified bull to the embodiment of Dharma and of the minor god Rudra to the presiding deity of the wide-spread Śiva-Rudra cult. In reality the tribe, their totem and their god were all jointly undergoing this process of evolution. The tide in the fortunes of one could not leave the other two untouched. So the increase in the power and glory of the tribe lent prestige and popularity to their totem and god.

The totem of the Mahāvṛṣas became popular in all parts of western India and the two handsome breeds of bulls—the Kankrej of Gujarat with its long curved horns and the Haryana of Kuruksetra and Rajasthan with its short horns, an imposing hump and a sturdy look provided an attractive motif for seals and terracotta of which many pieces have been recovered at different Harappan sites.

As we have already seen the prevalence of the bull motif was very wide-spread. It held on till much later in historical times when it was adopted on coins as a token of adherence to the Śiva-Rudra cult and sometimes undoubtedly in sheer imitation of coins of other important rulers or republics.[335] On early punch-marked coins it often occurs alone or along with an elephant.[336] Then it finds place on the coins of the Agras, Ārjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Mālavas, Rājanyas, Uddehikas, Vemakas, and Yaudheyas.[337] It also appears on the coins of many kings between 3rd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. from Ayodhyā, Eran, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā, Taxila and Ujjain.[338] It was also adopted on the seals/sealings of the Yaudheyas and some minor rulers as the discoveries from places like Naurangabad, Agroha, Karnal, Sanghol and Sunet have shown.[339] Certain Indo-scythian kings, perhaps out of respect for Indian sentiments, also held the bull sacred and the legends on their coins, both in Greek and Kharoṣṭhī, read 'Taurus' and 'Usabha' (Vṛṣabha). Even the coins of the Huna king Mihirakula carry the legend 'Jayati vṛṣabhaḥ'.[340] It is, of course, Śiva represented in his theriomorphic form as a bull. The other two forms in which he appears on coins are phallic and anthropomorphic.[341] On early punch-marked coins we find him as a two-armed human figure holding a staff and water-vessel. Three-faced Śiva (Mahākāla) also finds place on indigenous coins of 3rd-2nd century B.C. Two-armed Śiva appears on the Sirkap inscribed bronze seal of Śivarakṣita, on some copper coins of Manes and Gondophares, on a few coins of the Audumbara chief Dharaghoṣa and on the coins of Vema Kadphises and his successors Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva.[342] It would indeed be quite safe to observe that the bull and Śiva stole a long march over Viṣṇu in the matter of finding a place on early Indian coins.

One peculiar observation to be made on the Harappan figures of the bull on seals or in terracottas is that it is the representation resembling the Haryana breed which comes closer to the image of Śiva's Nandī as adopted in Indian religious sculptural tradition and this is as it should be, considering that the territories of Mūjavats and Mahāvṛṣas were the home of the Śiva-Rudra cult. Figures of two types however, deserve particular notice. One is the copper bull from Kalibangan[343] and the other a tiger bull having the body of a tiger and horns of a bull on a seal from Banawali.[344] The common idea suggested in both the forms appears to be the militancy and formidable power of the Mahāvṛṣas. It probably represents the stage in their history when they had become a major force in the region and developed morbid conceit. The nemesis, when it came, was so shattering, and wiped them out so completely, that their name disappeared without a trace even from literature. Although the bull continues to thrive and Śiva-Rudra attains a prominent position in the trinity of Hindu gods we hear absolutely nothing about the Mahāvṛṣas in post Vedic literature. This could not be due to their political decline alone.

It is therefore worthwhile to dilate upon the explanation of this enigmatic phenomenon albeit very briefly.

We have shown the possibility of the equation of the Mahāvṛṣas with the Śūdras of later times. We have also seen that the address of Śūdra for their king Jānaśruti by Raikva, even if apparently contemptuous, was in reality occasioned by the association of the name Śūdra with the Mahāvṛṣas as a result of their downgrading by other contemporary tribes. We do come across in Vedic literature indications of growing antipathy towards them which gradually develops into a fierce contempt in post Vedic works. As noted above Mahāvṛṣas are described as the home of Takman in the Atharva Veda. As a geographical fact it need not raise any eyebrows. But it is difficult to overlook the poet's hostility towards them when he requests Takman to eat them up by passing the Mūjavats. In the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra[345] of the Taittirīya Samhitā too they are counted among states each one of which is assigned one of the physical ailments of the supplicant and they are assigned his tumour. As Śūdras they are combined with the Ābhiras and the cause of disappearance of the Sarasvatī is given as her contempt for the two tribes.[316] From the Kāmasūtra and Aparākas commentary on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti[347] it appears that the code of social behaviour of the Ābhiras was in some ways different from that of most Kṣatriya families. The Mahābhārata[348] regards them as a Kṣatriya tribe reduced to the status of Śūdras on account of the non-contact of its members with Brāhmaṇas. The Ahirs of the Gurgaon district trace their origin from the Vṛṣṇi Yadavas who also according to the Great Epic were low caste Vrātyas.[349] It is interesting to note that Vṛṣṇi also means a bull,[350] it is also a name of Śiva[351] and the Vṛṣṇis are often mentioned together with the Andhakas[352] and Andhaka was also the name of an Asura.[353]

The label of Niṣāda given to these people also points in the same direction. The Mahābhārata[354] describes Vinaśana as the gateway to the Nisāda country to avoid which the Sarasvatī is said to have vanished underground. Their situation is identical with that of the Śūdrābhīras. The Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra[355] mentions a village of the Niṣādas and the Kāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra[356] refers to a Niṣāda Sthapati,[357] an architect or town official. There is no reason to take the word Niṣāda as a general term for non-Aryan tribes.[358] On the other hand the poet of the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā[359] pays homage to the Niṣādas along with the Takṣas, Rathakāras, Kulalas, Karmāras, Puñjiṣṭhas, Śvanis and Mṛgayus who respectively represent the artisan classes like the carpenters, chariot-makers, potters, blacksmiths, fishermen or fowlers, dog-leaders and hunters who may be called people of low social status but not necessarily non-Aryans. As a matter of fact the Aryan poet would not be paying homage to them if they had no place in his own social structure. All these classes must have formed an essential part of the Aryan as they would of a so-called non-Aryan society. Their low social status is however, not at all in doubt from the references in the Yajurveda and in later literature. Manu[360] defines the Niṣāda as the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Śūdra mother. The place of the Niṣādas in the equation of the Mahāvṛṣas with the Śūdras is therefore quite evident. Like Śūdra the name Niṣāda was also applied as a contemptuous term for the Mahāvṛṣas.

The label of Vrātya given to the Vṛṣṇi-Yādavas and by association to the Ābhīras in the Mahābhārata demands some more attention. Like the Niṣāda the Vrātya too was a man of particularly low caste descended of a Śūdra and a Kṣatriya.[361] The Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa[362] describes the Vrātyas as "speaking the language of the initiated, though being uninitiated they do so with difficulty for they call what is easy of utterance difficult to utter". From this R.K. Mookerji[363] concludes that the Vrātyas were very probably Aryans who had been already developing Prākritic forms of speech. We may recall the changes like that of Sanskrit Śa, Ṣa and Sa to Ha in the dialects of western Haryana and adjoining part of Rajasthan. Manu[364] lays down that persons who do not initiate themselves within the period fixed for their castes 'become Vrātyas (outcasts) excluded from the Sāvitrī and despised by the Aryans'. Similar is the verdict of other authorities.[365] In the Atharva Veda however, which we consider a product of the age of synthesis, Vrātya is glorified. The Rājanyas and even the Brāhmanas are said to have sprung from the Vrātya who is identified with the Supreme Being.[366] On being roused to action by Vrātya, Prajāpati becomes Brahma, Mahādeva, Īśāna or Rudra and even Chief Vrātya and takes to himself a bow, that was Indra's bow.[367] The identification with Mahādeva and Īśāna or Rudra equipped with the bow is particularly noteworthy. Already in the time of the earliest of the Brāhmaṇas[368] the Vrātyastomas were meant to enable Aryan but non-Brahmanical Indians to enter Brahmanical order. The authors of the Vedic Index[369] also accept the Vrātyas as Aryans outside the pale of Brahmin culture. They equate them with western tribes beyond the Sarasvatī.

In a nutshell the Vrātyas were Aryan tribes on the west of the Sarasvatī who, although normally considered outcasts by Aryans on the east of the Sarasvatī, could enter the Brahmanical order by performing a Vrātyastoma sacrifice. The Chief Vrātya is glorified in the Atharva Veda and equated with Prajāpati, Brahma and particularly Mahādeva, Īśāna and the bow-wielding Rudra. In this context Dandekar[370] has something remarkable to say, "Rudra is closely connected with the cult of the Vrātyas, and it is noteworthy that many features of the Vrātya, as mentioned in the Vedic texts, are reminiscent of the figure depicted on the Mohenjodaro seal. For instance, the āsandī of the Vrātya calls to mind the stool on which the Indus god is shown to be seated. So too the uṣṇīsa, the Kalmali-maṇi, and the pravartas of the Vrātya may be compared respectively with the elaborate head-dress, the pectoral, and the bangles of the figure on the Indus seal. Similarly the penis erectus of the Mohenjodaro figure is reflected in the characterisation of the brahmacārin of Atharva Veda XI.5 as bṛhacchepāḥ". It is unnecessary to add how the attributes of Vrātyas suit the tribes of the Mahāvṛṣa group.

There is another equation which is all too apparent to miss here and it goes back to the age of the Ṛgveda. As already seen above Bhāradvajas, the worshippers of Pūṣan lived in the vicinity of the Sarasvatī. Their patron Divodāsa, given as a son to Vadhryaśva by Sarasvatī,[371] fought against the Paṇis, Pārāvatas and Bṛṣaya and the river of the country 'who consumed the Paṇis',[372] stood by his side as a guardian deity.[373] As Hillebrandt points out, in the same book of the Ṛgveda which thinks of the Paṇis with special hatred, we see Pūṣan 'who pierces the Paṇis at the centre of the cult and he finds repeated mention alongwith the Sarasvatī.[374] According to Danekar[375] the Paṇis represent a distinct community possessing a religious cult different from the official Vedic religion. They were notorious cattle-lifters, particularly antagonistic to the clan of the Bhāradvājas and in early Vedic times a continuous conflict raged between the two. The ten Gayatri stanzas of Ṛgveda vi. 53 seem to have formed some sort of magic formulae belonging to the Pūṣan cult which were directed against the Paṇis, perhaps accompanied by some magic practices.[376] They are also described as foolish, faithless, rudely-speaking niggards without belief or sacrifice or worship, interested in usury and atheism.[377] Even though fairly rich, with the exception of a leader like Bṛhu, they were miserly and came to be vilified in the Ṛgveda for this reason rather than for being non-Vedic in character.[378]

Bṛṣaya too is mentioned in the Ṛgveda[379] as a Paṇi and Agni is described as causing his progeny to perish. If Bṛṣaya was also the name of a tribe as Hillebrandt[380] says then it was possibly another name of the Paṇis. Bṛṣaya is called a Māyī *i.e.*, a sorcerer, skilled in magic arts and Sarasvatī is invoked to cast down the enemies of the gods, the progeny of every sly Bṛṣaya.[381] She is called Pārāvataghnī[382] or the slayer of the Pārāvatas and remembered as the consumer of the obstinate and intractable Paṇis.[383] The Bṛṣayas and/or Paṇis and the Pārāvatas being all opposed by Divodāsa and Sarasvatī thus belonged to a common group of tribes and occupied parts of the same region. To the composer of Ṛgveda X. 108, the Paṇis appear as 'a defiant tribe of demons living at a hazy distance' on the other side of the Rasā[384] which is here used as a name for the Sarasvatī. Both the words literally have the same meaning; Sarasvatī signifies a river 'full of waters' and Rasā means 'full of flavour of waters'.[385] This finds support from Ṛgveda X. 108. where Saramā threatens the Paṇis in the name of Bṛhaspati and Aṅgirasas who were in the lower part of Kurukṣetra immediately bordering on the east of Vinaśana. Atharva Veda xix. 46.2 mentions Paṇis along with Yātudhānas, a class of demons. In Ṛgveda x. 60.6. Indra is praised for trampling down all the miserly Paṇis and harnessing two red steeds for the sons of Agastya who in later literature[386] helps the gods in destroying the demons by drinking off the ocean where they were hiding. Now Agastya was brother of Vasiṣṭha, both being miraculous sons of Mitra and Varuṇa and he introduced Vasiṣṭha to the Tṛtsus.[387]

This again connects the Paṇis with demons and places them not far from the Bharatas. In the circumstances Sāyaṇa's explanation of Bṛṣaya as Asura-Tvaṣṭā is not without justification.[388] The closeness of Bṛṣaya with Vṛṣa is self-evident and his people, the Paṇis have all the characteristics of the Viṣāṇin-Mahāvṛṣas. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (V. 9. 15-17) gives an interesting story where the Paṇis-appearing as priests of a chieftain of Śūdras (Vṛṣalapati) who is desirous of obtaining an issue-prepare sage Bharata, foremost in the line of Aṅgirā, for sacrifices as a human victim to goddess Bhadrakālī according to their traditional usage. Bharata is saved by the goddess herself who destroys the Vṛṣalas. However king Rahūgaṇa

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of Sindhu-Sauvīra, on his way to seek instruction in spiritual knowledge from the divine sage Kapila[388a] in the Himalayas spots Bharata on the bank of the Ikṣumatī—another name of the Sarasvatī[388b]-and makes him carry his palanquin. This story connects the Paṇis and the Śūdras placing them both on the west of the Sarasvatī since they fell on the way when the king of Sindhu-Sauvīra approached it. The religious tradition of the Paṇis-Śūdras approves of human sacrifice. Their victim is a prominent sage of the line of Aṅgirā whose people were known enemies of the Paṇis and occupied the adjoining country on the east of the Sarasvatī. And finally it is goddess Bhadrakāli, traditional enemy of the demons who saves Bharata and destroys the Vṛṣalas. Surely all this evidence cannot be ignored as just a coincidence.

There can be little doubt that the age-old contempt of the Sarasvatī for these western tribes represents the hostility towards them of the eastern tribes led by the Kuru-Bharatas. Indeed the enmity between them can be traced back to the Dāśarājña battle itself when Viṣāṇins, the parent clan of the Mahāvṛṣas were routed by Sudās. It is pertinent to recall here the episode of Viśvāmitra's visit to the Mahāvṛṣas which has already been noted above. It appears from the references to the Dāśarājña battle in the Ṛgveda that Viśvāmitra, the original Purohita of the Bharatas was replaced with Vasiṣṭha by Sudās. It has been suggested[389] that the change was made for political reasons and it led to hostility between Sudās and Viśvāmitra who became instrumental in bringing about a political and military confederation of the ten tribes including the Viṣāṇins and Śivas against his former patron. The enmity between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha is well known and we find the two sages abusing each other as Rāksasas.[390] The followers of Viśvāmitra are addressed as Rāksaṣas later in the Mahābhārata[391] also. This provides a cogent explanation for the visit of Viśvāmitra to the Viṣāṇins (who had acquired the name of Mahāvṛṣas before the time of composition of the Brāhmaṇas) and for his subsequent down-grading in the literature associated with the land of the Kuru-Bharatas. The visit of Viśvāmitra to the Viṣāṇin-Mahāvṛṣas was evidently in the nature of defection of a disgruntled ally. This situation applies equally well if the Viṣāṇin-Mahāvṛṣas are equated with the Paṇis. Swami Shankarananda[392] has pointed out that the Paṇis were the Dasyus and Viśvāmitra's clan also is referred to as Dasyu in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The epithets Grathina and Mṛdhravācaḥ of the Paṇis seem to be respectively the same as Gāthina of Viśvāmitra and Mlecchavācah applied to his tribe in the Manusmrti. It is thus suggested that the Paṇis belonged to Viśvāmitra. It would be well to remember here that the enemies of king Sudās have been described in the Ṛgveda as averse to sacrifice,[393] careful measurers knowing even the smallest fraction (of things which they gave to others)[394] and as only half-warriors who drank the sacrificial offerings themselves[395] which would be a fitting description for the Paṇis and the Asuras alike. It is also to be noted in this connection that even the Bhṛgus of the neighbouring state of Mūjavat, who had become the priests of the Druhyus[396] are mentioned along with Druhyus and Turvaṣas as enemies of Sudās.[397] Considering the hypothesis that both the tribes had initially adhered to the cult of Rudra, this was not unnatural.

Here too the archaeological evidence comes to our support. Enough phallic emblems have been reported from Mohenjodaro to warrant the description of the Viṣāṇin-Mahāvṛṣas as phallus worshippers. Marshall[398] is quite certain that the only explanation applicable to the realistic specimens of liṅga and yoni from Mohenjodaro is that they were sacred objects of some sort. Their worshippers are in all probability the Śiṣnadevas (whose deity is phallus) of the Ṛgveda whom the Ṛṣi does not want to penetrate his sanctuary.[399] As Dr. Sarup[400] has shown the compound, Śiṣnadevāḥ in both places (VII. 21.5 and X, 99.3), is accented on the first member so that it is a Bahuvrīhi compound and can only mean (those whose deity is phallus'. So the phallus-worship of the Viṣāṇin-Mahāvṛṣas provided an additional reason to the Bharatas for hating them. It is significant that the poet of the first of these hymns is the sage Vasiṣṭha who was once the Purohita of Sudās, king of the Bharatas.

The enmity between the Mahāvṛṣas and the Kuru-Bharatas ultimately resulted in the former being derisively branded as Asuras, Dānavas, Piśācas or Rākṣasas which had gradually come to be used as adjectives denoting evil. According to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (1.1.4.4.) the Asuras followed different customs and performed different sacrifices than the gods. They installed the three sacrificial fires Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya and Anvāhāryapacana in a different sequence than the gods did and were thus deprived of their luck. So when a custom had to be rejected as unsuitable it was called an Āsura custom. So much so that all that was not strictly Brahmanical came to be stamped as Asura-like and every antithesis, even that of day and night was connected with the antithesis between the Devas and Asuras.[400a] This tendency percolated down into every day life. The Mahābhārata[401] declares in so many words that those of the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras who insult Brāhmaṇas, Ācāryas, Ṛtviks, Gurus and old men, become Rākṣasas. The transition of Asura from the earlier meaning of god to that of demon becomes evident even around the end of the Ṛgvedic periods.[402] Hillebrandt observes that it seems to be transformed regularly into a demon between the bulk of the Ṛgvedic hymns on the one side and that of the Brāhmaṇas on the other.[403] We have already referred to the venerable sages Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha who condemned each other as Rāksasas. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas provide many instances where enemies of the Kurus are branded as demons or their origin is traced to the demons. Śalya is thus said to have been born as a part-incarnation of Samhrāda, the second son of Hiraṇyakaśipu,[404] Siśupāla as a partial-incarnation of Rāvana and Hiraṇyakasipu.[405] Śalva is branded as a Daitya[406] and Duryodhana and his hundred brothers as partial incarnations of the Rākṣasas of Pulastya family.[407] Jarāsandha is described as an incarnation of the Asura Vipracitti[408] and his survival at birth attributed to the Rākṣasī Jarā.[409] Even families and communities subscribing to the beliefs deviating from traditional Brāhmaṇic faith would meet the same fate as the inclusion of the Mauryas,[410] the Bauddhas and the Jainas among Asuras and enemies of gods clearly shows.[411]

No such direct statement is made anywhere in case of the Mahāvṛṣas specifically in the few references to them and yet it becomes evident in many ways. Their totem Vṛṣa figures in the names of many Asuras. One Daitya called Vṛṣa is said to have ruled over the whole world and appropriated the Cakra of Viṣṇu.[412] The demon Maya, who was a great architect, is described as 'Vrsasattama'.[413] Vṛṣadhvaja is the name of another Asura who fought for Vṛtra against Indra.[414] Yet another Asura called Vṛṣabha was killed by Kṛṣṇa[415] And quite well known is the Asura king Vṛsaparvan, son of Kaśyapa and Danu, whose daughter Śarṁiṣṭhā was married to Yayāti son of Nahuṣa.[416] He fought for Vṛtra against Indra and in the Devāsura war he fought against the Āśvins.[417]

Traces of a low estimate of their immediate neighbours the Mūjavats or Śibi-Uśīnaras can also be detected in literature—probably for the same reason, *viz.*, their association with the Rudra-cult and initial antipathy towards sacrifice. Śibi the name of the renowned son of Uśīnara and the tribe itself is shared in the Mahābhārata by a demon-one of the sons of Samhrāda.[418] Śibi's son is named Vṛṣadarbha[419] or Vṛṣādarvī[420] who tries to destroy the seven venerable sages the Saptarṣis Atri *etc.* by a Kṛtyā named the female demon Yātudhānī.[421] And the Kṣatriyas of the Uśīnara country are said to have become Śūdras (like the Mahāvṛṣas) on losing the favour of the Brāhmaṇas.[422] The old animosity between them and the Kurus is also reflected in the Draupadī-haraṇa episode where Jayadratha, the king of the Sauvīras, is accompanied by Kotikāśya, the king of Śibis.[423]

There is also evidence pointing to the presence of the Asuras in the vicinity of the Sarasvatī. The region of Pañcanada has been connected with the Dānavas.[424] It is possible to trace in the story of the destruction of the Asura named Durgama by the goddess Śākambharī the connection of the Asuras with the land of the Śākambharas who, as their location suggests, must have been among the confederates of the Mahāvṛṣas.[425] The conflict of Indra and Namuci took place on the Sarasvatī.[426] In a passage of the Ṛgveda Indra is described as having drunk wine beside the demoniac Namuci, when the Aśvins aided and Sarasvatī cured him.[427] He also vanquished Śambara for the Bharata king Divodāsa[428] who is associated with the valley of the Sarasvatī.[429] The hermitage of sage Dadhīci, with whose bones Indra's Vajra was manufactured for killing Vṛtra and other demons, was located on the bank of the Sarasvatī.[430] The Vedic Ṛṣi Bhṛgu Vāruṇi born in Brahmā's sacrifice and accepted as a son by Śiva in the form of Varuṇa[431] was married to Pulomā, the daughter of the Asura king Hiraṇyakaśipu.[432] Uśanā Śukra, his son from Pulomā, became the preceptor of the Asuras, particularly of Vṛṣaparvan.[433] His line became extinct with the Asuras. He is also said to have related two Gāthās to Prahlāda son of Hiraṇyakaśipu during exposition of Tattvajñāna.[434] The association of the Bhārgavas with Mūjavat and the present district of Jind has already been demonstrated. It can be added here that the wife of Uśanā Śukra was named Jayantī[435] which is also the original Sanskrit name of Jind.[436] It is also interesting to note that the Atharva Samhitā is associated with the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas[437] and, as we have seen, contains the first reference to the Mahāvṛṣas. Some scholars[438] are indeed of the view that the way of the Aṅgirā Atharvans was Vṛtra's way and the Atharvans were the Asuras of the Purāṇas.[439] Prajāpati Bhṛgu's wife is said to have fought on the side of the Daityas against the gods and was killed by Viṣṇu.[440] The Kāṇvas are another important family of Vedic Ṛṣis who belonged to Kurukṣetra and were associated with the Anus, the Yadus and the Turvaśas who were all antagonistic to the Bharatas and Sṛñjayas.[448] Sobhari Kāṇva is said to have praised Indra, Citra and Sarasvatī when during a sacrifice in Kurukṣetra rats began to harass him by snatching away his corn and various oblations.[442] In the Atharva Veda[443] Kaṇva is mentioned along with the Rākṣasas. One Kāṇva Nārṣada is stated to have married the daughter of Bakāsura and got from her two sons Triśoka and Nābhāka.[444] These instances of their close contact with personalities hailing from Kurukṣetra suggest that the people described as Asuras occupied adjoining areas and, in the emerging situation were probably identical with the people of the Mahāvṛṣas or the Harappans in general.[444a]

The devotion and closeness of the Asuras to god Śiva is also well known. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas contain innumerable instances of Asuras practising severe austerities to please Śiva. Andhaka, son of Hiraṇyāksa, pleases Śiva with severe austerities and wins invincibility.[445] So does Sukesi.[446] Rāvaṇa was a great devotee of Śiva, always kept a gold Siva liṅga with him and received the Candrahāsa sword from the god.[447] Raktabīja had propitiated Rudra.[448] Śiva and Pulastya, whose progeny were the Rākṣasas, were both married to the daughters of Dakṣa Svāyambhuva.[449] Uśanā Śukra, guru of the Asuras, had practised austerities to please Śiva.[450] The Auśānasa tīrtha, mentioned near Saptasārasvata in Kurukṣetra, is named after him.[451] As a matter of fact devotion to god Śiva is counted among the duties of a Rākṣasa and a devotee of Lord Śiva's feet was considered as the best among the leaders of his people.[452] There is no dearth of stories illustrating Siva's partiality for the demons. Rudra is said to have rendered the tīrtha of Pañcanāda dangerous with the presence of the Dānavas.[453] And Pañcanada lies in the heart of the region where we have placed the Mahāvṛṣas. In one case

Rudra is said to have punished even god Sūrya for hurling down from sky the town of the demon Sukeśī.[454] Bāṇa, son of the Asura king Bali and known as Mahākāla, was a Pārṣada of Śiva.[455] His capital Śoṇitapura was protected by Śiva, Kārttikeya and Agni *etc.*, when Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma attacked it to free Aniruddha. Kṛṣṇa had to defeat Śiva to reach Bāṇa and cut down his arms.[456] The Daitya Vṛṣa, who had defeated Viṣṇu, was an incarnation of Śiva.[457] The word 'Vṛṣa' has indeed a strong tendency to appear in the names of Śiva and other gods connected with the land of Kurukṣetra. More than two dozen names of Śiva and several names of Vāmana are based on Vṛṣa.[458] Even Vṛṣaparvan, name of a leading demon, is among the epithets of Śiva.[459] Same is the case with the name Muñjakeśa which is shared by Śiva with a Kṣatriya king who was a partial incarnation of an Asura named Nicandra.[460]

At times one also comes across the presence of the demons even in Kurukṣetra. The Śāṭyāyana[460a] and the Jaiminīya[460b] Brāhmaṇas describe how, at one time, the Asuras were repulsed by the very glimpse of the face of Ātharvaṇa Dadhyaṅ. When he dies they spread over the whole earth. Unable to fight them Indra searches for the remains of Dadhyaṅ and finds his horse-head in lake Śaryaṇāvat in the lower half of Kurukṣetra and with its help destroys the Asuras. Prahlāda visits Naimiśāraṇya with his followers and finds the Sarasvatī flowing with clear water. It is here that he fights with Nārāyaṇa.[461] While granting a favour to Kuru, Indra appoints for the protection of Kurukṣetra, a Yakṣa named Candra, the Nāga Vāsuki, Vidyādhara Śaṅkukarṇa, king Ajavana, Agni Mahādeva and the demon king Sukeśī.[462] The death of Hiraṇyakaśipu at the hands of Nṛsimha is associated with Kṛtaśauca tīrtha[463] traditionally located at village Barahban near Jind.[464] Kārttikeya was appointed as commander of the forces of gods for the Devāsura Saṅgrāma after the Rājasūya sacrifice of Soma at the Taijasa tīrth near Pṛthūdaka.[465] Indeed the traditions recorded in the Mahābhārata appear to point to Pṛthūdaka as the venue of the Devāsura war where Skanda Kārttikeya killed the Asura chief Tāraka at Somatīrtha.[466] Uśanā Kāvya too is said to have planned the Devāsura war at Kapālamocan in Pṛthūdaka.[467] The tīrtha named Auśanasa after him is situated close by.[468] Bṛhaspati performed a sacrifice here against the Asuras which hastened their decline.[469] Here again the Rākṣasas appear feasting on the polluted waters of the Aruṇā,[470] described as Sarasvatī's own form,[471] flowing red with blood by the curse of Viśvāmitra.[472] We notice their presence on the Sarasvatī at the tīrthas of Subhūmika[473] upstream from Vinaśana and further on at the Śaṅkhatīrtha.[474] The destruction of the demon Bāṇa is also attributed to Skanda and it took place on the Krauñca,[475] a hill of the Shivalik range,[476] probably in the region of Nahan. Durgā Kātyāyanī fights the heavily armed Asuras who had collected on the Sarasvatī.[477] Asura Hayagrīva practised penance at the bank of the Sarasvatī for a thousand years to propitiate Devī Mahāmāyā.[478]

Sunda and Upasunda came to stay in Kurukṣetra after accomplishing their world-conquests.[479] The Rākṣasa tribe of Yātudhānas was created by Yadu[480] son of Yayāti whose father Nahuṣa ruled in the valley of the Sarasvatī and whose association with the demon king Vṛṣaparvan has already been noted. The Vṛtras were destroyed by Indra somewhere on the Sarasvatī as her name Vṛtraghnī indicates.[481] And the fact that the Rākṣasas are also given the epithet Sārasvata suggests their direct-association with the Sarasvatī.[482] Dadhīci, again a descendant of Bhṛgu[483] was probably an ally of the Devas or the enemies of the Asura Mahāvṛṣas as the story of the manufacture of the Vajra with his bones by Indra for killing Vṛtra suggests.[484] In all probability he had joined hands with the eastern tribes of Kurukṣetra since Sarasvatī is given as the name of his wife[485] and his son Sarasvān is described as the saviour of the Vedas.[486] He is associated with the tīrtha named Miśraka where all tīrthas were joined by Vyāsa for him.[487]

All this material points towards the equation of the Mahāvṛṣas with the Paṇis and their association with the epithets of Vrātya Sūdra, Ābhīra, Niṣāda, with the cult of Rudra or Śiva and with the adjective Asura, and some spillover of their activities into the neighbouring areas of Kurukṣetra on their east. No less an authority than Hopkins subscribes to the view that the west was opposed to the Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu cult and likes to set this indication beside the statement that the Dānavas "abandoned Viṣṇu as god of gods, hating him and censuring the praise of him" as they too "eat meat and cook the offerings made to the gods for themselves and abandon shrines and praises.[488] It is not without reason that the stories of the sacred Sarasvatī vanishing underground for her hatred of the Śudrābhīras and the Niṣādas have another version which ascribes her disappearance to the desire to deny to Śiva the facility to purify himself in her waters for Brahmahatyā[489] Śiva who by implication was at that time worshipped by the people living beyond Vinaśana in the west of Kurukṣetra.

By the time of their kings Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakeya and his later descendant Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa, the Mahāvṛṣas had probably already outlived their heroic age, lapsed into peaceful pursuits and developed spiritual leanings. They had lived and survived through a period of great turmoil during which they must have been on the giving as well as on the receiving end in the conflicts with their eastern neighbours. There is some evidence of reverses suffered by the Kurus about this time. The Mahābhārata[490] describes a great set-back to them when Kuru's father Samvaraṇa was ruling the country. His people were afflicted by famine and pestilence and troubled by the inroads of their enemies. Saṃvaraṇa is specifically said to have been overwhelmed in battle by one Pāñcālya and was obliged to flee with his wife, son, minister and intimates from his kingdom which he was able to regain later with the help of Vasiṣṭha.[491] The temporary expulsion of the Kurus from Kurukṣetra appears to find an echo in many earlier references scattered in

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the Brāhmaṇas. The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa[492] mentions their failure to achieve success in a sacrifice and consequent expulsion by the Śālvas from Kurukṣetra. It also describes a Bharata king named Sindhukṣit[493] as held up on the other side of the Indus and praying to be restored to his home and kingdom. Yet another reference in the same text[494] records the presence of the Bharatas on the other side of the Indus. The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra[495] alludes to a curse pronounced on the Kurus that led to their being driven out of Kurukṣetra. In view of their age-old hostility it would be safe to assume that the Mahāvṛṣas contributed to the troubles of the Kuru-Bharatas in a large measure for which they were neither forgiven nor forgotten. Already in the time of the Ṛgveda the Paṇis inspired fear in their enemies. In iii. 58.2. the singer implores the Aśvins to ward off their assault. In vi. 51.14. the poet compares the Paṇi with a wolf and prays for his destruction.

After a temporary recovery the Kurus were again overtaken by a spell of bad luck in the reign of king Janamejaya Pārikṣita who was a contemporary of Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakaya. We come across more than once Janamejaya Pārikṣita in literature[496] and the king meant here was apparently not the grandson of Abhimanyu but his remote predecessor taken by Pargiter[497] as the great grandson of Samvaraṇa. This Janamejaya is said to have injured the son of Ṛṣi Gārgya and on being cursed by the latter, was abandoned by his own people. He sought help from Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka who tried to purify him with the performance of a horse-sacrifice but failed to recover his sovereignty and his three sons also passed into oblivion.[498] Although this Janamejaya appears to have performed another sacrifice with Tura Kāvaṣeya as his priest at Kārotī[499] very close to the adjoining territory of the Mahāvṛṣas there is no reason to believe that he won any victories against his western neighbours. On the contrary the story of his downfall and the extinction of his family allows the possibility of his suffering a serious reverse at the hands of his adversaries if a conflict did take place.

The presence of Rākṣasas in Kurukṣetra may be taken as suggestive of the inroads of the Mahāvṛṣas into the land of the Kurus. As a matter of fact it is quite possible that they enforced their writ over the whole of Kurukṣetra for some time.[500] However, their failure to take advantage of these setbacks to the Kurus with any lasting occupation of the country on the east of the Sarasvatī is suggestive of the decline in their own power, because the sovereignty lost by Janamejaya and his sons came to vest in Suratha son of Jahnu.[501] The bitter and long-drawn struggle between the tribes on the east and the west of Vinaśana flared up again and ultimately ended in the break'up of the power of the Mahāvṛṣas and their confederates who were pushed down to the south of Sind and towards the west leaving behind disjointed communities of reckless fighters like the Śibis, the Śūdras and the Ābhiras. This is probably reflected in the mythical account of the

Devāsura wars which supposedly led to the wholesale migration of the Asuras to the ocean or Pātāla,[502] later called Patala or Patalene (the Indus delta country) during the time of Alexander's historians[502a] and the Indo-Greeks.[503] It is interesting to note that the Mahābhārata[504] mentions the abode of Nisādas also at a secluded spot in the ocean. Likewise the Paṇis are regarded by some scholars as founders of the Indus Valley civilisation who later migrated to the west where their vestiges can be recognised in the name Phoenicia.[505] The Paṇis have also been identified with the tribe of the Parnians on the Oxus,[506] the Bṛṣayas with the Barsaetes of Arachosia[507] and the Pārāvatas with the Paroyetai of ancient Iran,[508] all mentioned by Greek-historians. Even Mohenjodaro's three faced Paśupati has been recognised in the Celtic god Cernunno[509] as depicted on a silver cauldron unearthed at Gundestrup in Denmark who too is three faced,[510] wearing horns[511] and surrounded by beasts.[512] The mythical account of the Devāsura wars was built up by the Kuru-Bharata poets in whose eyes their own victorious people and their allies were represented by gods and their enemies—the Mahāvṛṣas and their confederates—by the Asuras even though both groups belonged to one and the same ethnic stock[513] as the common ancestry of the Devas and Asuras earlier from Prajāpati[514] and then from Kaśyapa[515] clearly indicates.

The calamitous tectonic-seismic upheaval which took place in the upper regions of Kurukṣetra around the close of the Ṛgvedic age sometime before 3000 B.C.[516] led to the gradual drying up of the Sarasvatī and dealt a severe blow to the economy of the Mahāvṛṣas on account of their geographical position.[517] The brave people who had defied their mortal enemies were defeated by the devastation wrought by the natural catastrophe remembered in literature as the great Deluge or Pralaya survived by Manu Vaivasvata.[518] The violent resurgence of the great Bharatas did the rest and the demoralised Mahāvṛṣas fled from their hearth and home, in large numbers. The Asuras were driven away from the regions, says the text and being regionless they were overcome.[519] At another place it is stated that the gods and the Asuras, both of whom sprung from Prajāpati, were contending for the possession of this world. The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from this world.[519a] It is to God that the believer ascribes great events, good and bad both. Inevitably their end also came to be traced to the wrath of God. And who could be the better agent of their downfall than their own most favourite deity adopted and appropriated by their opponents, Śiva himself? Hence the story of the destruction of Tripura, their threesome metropolis at the hands of the great god who came in his chariot by the route provided by their own life-line, the sacred Sarasvatī[520] which flowed into their country through the territories of their eastern enemies. So also the story of their defeat at the hands of the hordes of gods led by Śiva's own son, Skanda Kārttikeya elected as commander at the Taijasa tīrtha in Pṛthūdaka on

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the Prācī Sarasvatī.[521] It is interesting to note that later we find Skanda Kārttikeya being adopted as their titulary deity in the same region by the formidable tribe of Yaudheyas[522] whose stronghold Rohitaka (present Rohtak) is described as the beloved city of Kārttikeya[523] and whose warriors are called Mattamayūrakas[524] after his vāhana peacock.[525]

Out of the several versions of the Tripuradāha story,[526] however, there are some which show clearly that the conflict between the Devas and Asuras was in fact only a struggle between the believers and the non-believers. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[527] for instance, the gods drive away the Asuras from their three fortresses of iron (earth), silver (mid-region) and gold (sky) with the sacrificial rite of three successive Upasads. Indeed an Upasad works like an arrow, of which the point is made up of Agni, the arrow-head of Soma, the shaft of Viṣṇu and the feathers of Varuṇa. This was the arrow shot with the bow of clarified butter, that destroyed the fortresses and drove away the demons from the three worlds.[528] Much later in the Śiva Purāṇa[529] Brahmā serves as Śiva's charioteer with the whip of Praṇava in his hand, Himalaya as his bow and Vāsuki as the bow-string; Viṣṇu makes up the arrow and Agni the tip of the arrow. The chariot is studded with heavenly stars and is pulled by the four Vedas in the form of horses. The Iṣṭi of Upasad in which oblations are offered to gods Agni, Soma and Viṣṇu, drives away the evil demonic forces of the Asuras. In the ultimate analysis therefore it is again the eastern adherants of the cult of sacrifice who destroy those opposed to it.

So we are presented with a rather spectacular transformation of Rudra Vṛṣabhadhvaja into Śiva Suraśatruhan.[530]

The truth however was more harsh. Whereas the natural calamity that resulted in the drying up of the Sarasvatī and the economic ruination of the Mahāvṛṣas might be ascribed to the wrath of Śiva-Rudra, or any other god for that matter, there is evidence to suggest that on the political level, it was a case of the liberal followers of Viṣṇu overpowering the fanatic adherants of Śiva-Rudra and adopting their god. As a contrast to the epithets like Vṛṣāṅka, Vṛṣapati or Vṛṣavāhana of Śiva we have the Vṛṣāhin, Vṛṣāntaka or Vṛṣanāśana, of Viṣṇu. Śiva has no epithet that could mean the destroyer of Vṛṣas like these three of Viṣṇu, Śiva, as we have seen, is usually the benefactor of the Vṛṣas or Asuras unlike Viṣṇu who appears in a destructive role as far as they are concerned. Leading Asuras earning boons from Śiva almost invariably meet their doom at the hand of Viṣṇu. Quite a few of the incarnations of Viṣṇu were motivated by his concern for the welfare of gods and the destruction of Asuras. Varāha kills Hiraṇyākṣa,[531] Matsya destroys Hayagrīva to retrieve the Vedas,[532] Nṛsiṁha kills Hiraṇyakaśipu,[533] Vāmana deprives Bali of his empire,[534] Rāma annihilates Rāvaṇa[535] and Kṛṣṇa kills Kansa, Bāṇāsura, and many other Rākṣasas,[536] including Ariṣṭa[536a] who assumes the form of a mighty bull—the totem of the Mahāvṛṣas and the vāhana of Śiva. This trait of Viṣṇu can indeed be traced to the Ṛgveda[537] itself where he is described as vanquishing demons in alliance with Indra.

On the other hand the appearance of Śiva-Rudra as an enemy of the Asuras is not only late but also half-hearted. It leaves one with the feeling as if he has been introduced into the episodes as a substitute for or an agent of Viṣṇu or Brahmā who originally played the part. At one place in the Great Epic[538] Brahmā creates a sword and gives it to Rudra for destroying the Dānavas. Rudra finishes the job and deposits the weapon with Viṣṇu. At another[539] Rudra annihilates Tripura, the city of the Asuras with all its population and again Viṣṇu has to be his shaft-head. The version of the last story as given in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa[540] is even more revealing. Here in the fight over Tripura 'Śiva is shown being knocked unconscious by the Dānava chief. It is Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, who then lifts him up and lends his own Kavaca and Śūla with which Śiva destroys Tripura. The realisation that he could not overcome the Asuras without Kṛṣṇa's Kavaca and Śūla cures Śiva of his conceit. Even after shooting his arrow, Śiva is suddenly reminded of the plight of Maya, architect of the three cities and living in one of them, and he immediately sends Nandi to rescue his Dānava devotee from the conflagration.[541] Śiva's son Skanda is invested with the leadership over the god's army by Brahma.[542] And in the episode of piercing Mt. Krauñca, Skanda is all along the son of Agni and accomplishes the feat with the dart given by the latter.[543]

In all these cases the futility of the poet's attempt to convert Śiva's traditional love for the Asuras into contempt for them is quite transparent. This attempt at transformation of Śiva-Rudra into an anti-Asura god was undertaken apparently after his adoption by the eastern tribes and the synthesis of Śaivism and Ṛgvedic Brāhmaṇism had already taken place.[544] The Purāṇas are often palpably over-anxious to dissociate Śiva from his pro-Asura past. The Varāha Purāṇa,[545] for instance, makes Rudra declare the supremacy of Viṣṇu, denounce Śaiva-Siddhāntas that are outside the pale of the Vedas and put forward the outstanding view that 'such non-Vedic views were promulgated by Śiva himself at the request of Viṣṇu in order to delude people'.

Śiva has certain characteristics common with the Rākṣasas. Their aversion to the cult of sacrifice is too well known to need any proof. In the Brāhmaṇas we come across, more than once, an interesting etymology of the word Rākṣas. While the Devas were engaged in performing sacrifice, the Asuras and the Rākṣasas forbade them saying 'Ye shall not sacrifice'. And because they forbade, they are called Rakṣasas.[546] This etymology also shows that the Asuras and Rākṣasas were identical.[547] On the one hand the establishment of Yajña and its replenishment on being exhausted was the most remarkable achievement of gods.[548] On the other the Asuras, in their arrogance considered none superior to them to receive their offering and resolved to offer it into their own mouth.[549] The Chāndogya Upaniṣad[550] makes the same point in a parable where Indra, among the Devas and Virocana among the Asuras approach Prajāpati for instruction on the nature of the Soul. Both fail to understand the Truth and construe Prajāpati's instruction according to their own view point. To the Asuras Virocana conveys it thus "Self alone is adorable; in this (world) self alone should be served; by adorning and serving one's self both this and the other world may be attained". Thereafter, according to the parable, the Asuras give no alms, have no faith in good works, and officiate at no sacrifice; hence they are called Asuras. There was always a fear of their destroying sacrifice.[551] As a natural reaction they had to be excluded from sacrifice as surely as evil spirits would be.[552] This aversion to sacrifice is shared by Śiva also. The Mahābhārata[553] describes how Mahādeva destroyed a sacrifice which gods were performing in accordance with the Vedic procedure without assigning any share to Rudra, in their ignorance. He is appeased only after his share is earmarked. In another better known episode[554] Śiva ruins the sacrifice of his own father-in-law Dakṣa, piercing it with an arrow, tears out the eyes of Bhaga and knocks out, with his foot, the teeth of Pūṣan. His Gaṇas attack and rout the Devas. Dakṣa presents him with the bull who becomes his vehicle and appears on his banner[555] and the gods make him Paśupati.[556] He has Rākṣasa characteristics also as the appearance of Kumbhakarna, Śaṅkukarṇa and Gokarṇa amongst his names suggests.[557] His hostility to sacrifice even earns him the epithet of Yajña-vidhvansana from Upamanyu.[558] He is indeed the lord of Rākṣasas, Asuras and malicious spirits and to be offered an oblation as such.[559] In direct contrast to this trait of Śiva, Viṣṇu is constantly identified with sacrifice in early literature. This is the special feature of the Brāhmaṇas.[560] Such Rākṣasa attributes of Śiva-Rudra must have been much more pronounced in the age of the Vājasaneyī Samhita[561] which gives him disgraceful adjectives like a robber, cheat, deceiver, lord of pilferers and robbers which approximate to his post-vedic fierce, terrific, impure and repulsive nature.

This situation should very well agree with a conflict between the worshippers of Viṣṇu and Śiva at a remote point of time in India's history. The Brāhmaṇa literature refers to such a conflict time and again.[562] We have already referred to the subordinate position of Rudra in the Ṛgveda. Prajāpati Dakṣa did not regard him as one of the Devas.[563] He is a persona-non-grata to a poet of the Vājasaneyī Samhitā.[564] And even much later in the Mahābhārata there are indications of the late rise of Śiva worship. Hopkins[565] observes that the latest parts of the Epic are devoted to Śiva worship as if it arose in a new form to oppose the exaggerated Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa cult. If this antagonism between the two sects is not reflected uniformly in the Epic the reason can be two-fold. Firstly in its very nature the Mahābhārata is an encyclopaedic work aimed at providing a synthesis of faiths and beliefs of various hues and secondly by the time of its composition Śiva worship had already come into its own and Śiva had been accorded a place among the highest Brāhmaṇic gods. If it gives any indication of antagonism between the two cults it undoubtedly reflects the situation in a bygone age. This antagonism is indeed not only a matter of inference but at places also quite apparent because the Epics specifically describe many a contest between Śiva and Viṣṇu which the former loses. In Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa[566] Pitāmaha Brahmā creates differences between the two as the gods are desirous of testing their strength. A contest ensues in which Viṣṇu unstrings Śiva's bow and proves his superiority while the dejected Rudra hands over his bow to Rājarṣi Devarāta of Videha, an ancestor of the renowned king Janaka, whose association with the tradition points to its remote antiquity. The Mahābhārata[567] too speaks of a conflict between Rudra and Nārāyaṇa which the former loses and is then obliged to propitiate the latter and seek refuge with him. It is therefore but natural that Brahmā should also be considered higher than Rudra as the Mahābhārata[568] clearly declares.

Mahābhārata is the Epic of Kurus and of their land Kurukṣetra. Kurukṣetra again is the land of Viṣṇu and his many incarnations[569] as it is the Uttaravedī of Brahmā[570] and the seat of his creation[571] and the venue of sacrifices performed by gods.[572] If the Śiva-Rudra cult took its rise in the region of Mūjavat a part of this land, as we have tried to show, then it is easy to see where the conflict between the worshippers of Viṣṇu and Śiva could have taken place. It is also understandable that the process of synthesis of the Śiva-Rudra cult and Brāhmaṇism should start in this very portion of the country and Śiva should come to be described as Kuru-maker and living with the Kurus,[573] and his bull yoked to the golden plough of king Kuru.[574] That the Kurus should come to be regarded as old Śivaites[575] is indicative of the successful completion of this process. So much so that they are now made to join Jarāsandha in not admitting the divinity of Kṛṣṇa as Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu and deny that Arjuna is Nara, revealed to Indra by a heavenly voice.[576] Equally apparent is the change in Viṣṇu. If Rudra Vṛṣabhadhvaja becomes Suraśatruhan Viṣṇu loses no time in being transformed into Ekaśṛṅga (Harappan unicorn) and then graduating to Gohita, Gopati, Goptṛ and Vṛṣapriya *etc.*[577] He is indeed the bull, fond of bulls, with a bull like belly and having eyes and form and the acts of a bull.[578] But of course we must not forget the great Bṛhaspati of the Aṅgirasa family, teacher of the gods and the architect of their victory and the symbol of religious force behind this synthesis. The honour accorded to him is unique and most well-deserved. He is invoked in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa as the king of Sindhudeśa having bodily lustre resembling the burning golden colour, having staff, water pot, string of beads in three hands...sitting in a chariot to which yellow horses are yoked, flying a yellow flag, coming from the north of Meru (undoubtedly a scribal error for Maru) together with Indra and the god Brahmā.[579] Expressions deserving of particular notice are ‘coming from the north of Maru’ which would be the country of his own people the Bharadvājas and of the Kurus and ‘the king of Sindhudeśaṣ which makes him lord of the country earlier occupied by the Mahāvṛṣas and their confederates.[580] The spectacle of prominent personalities of this land, at one time the admirers of Śiva and sympathisers of the Rākṣasas, changing sides and declaring Viṣṇu as the greatest god points to the same conclusion. Bhṛgu is only one out of many such cases. Another is Dakṣa performing a sacrifice at Vinaśana on the Sarasvatī,[581] completely ignoring and even cursing Śiva[582] and later apologising to him and chanting his thousand names (Sahasranāma).[583] The episode of the bloody waters of the demon-infested Aruṇā-Sarasvatī turning white and purifying them of their sin leading to their ultimate deliverance,[584] also represents the assimilation of Āsuri-elements by the Kuru-Bharatas.[585] The Tripuradāha legend, again involving the Sarasvatī, has also been interpreted as signifying the acceptance of Siva's way by the East.[586] On the other side too we find Mahāvṛṣa kings like Hṛtvāśaya Āallakeya and Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa becoming receptive to eastern religious trends. Soon we hear of a Raudra Iṣṭi (ritual to propitiate Rudra) being allowed to be done in the case of the Niṣāda sthapati[587] and the Niṣādas becoming the fifth varṇa.[588] As we have already seen the process of this synthesis must have been long and painful in view of the tortuous path of bitter conflict and vicissitudinous struggle that it had to cover.

We can now sum up the results of the foregoing investigation.

The evidence we have brought together indicates that the name Mūjavat applied to the lower part of the narrowing doab of the Ṛgvedic rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī extending down to their confluence. The land derived its name from Muñja grass which grew here in abundance. As it came under the sway of the Kurus it lost its name and separate entity and became a part of Kurukṣetra. The territory of the Mahāvṛṣas lay beyond Vinaśana and was roughly bounded by the Kurus on the east and extended in the west into the part of Rajasthan later associated with the Niṣādas, Śūdras and Ābhīras They occupied the country lying in the belt known for its valuable breed of Zebu cattle which gave them their totemic name.

Apparently the names Mūjavat and Mahāvṛṣa primarily applied to territorial units each occupied by more than one families or tribes. About the times reflected in certain hymns of the Ṛgveda the Śivas or Śibis of later literature were among the foremost of the Mūjavat tribes. They were overrun by the Kuru-Bharatas and lost their identity barring a large section which fled the country. To the Mahāvṛṣas, in all likelihood, belonged the people represented by the Visāṇins and the Paṇis in the Ṛgveda and by the Śūdras and Niṣādas in later literature. Chronologically they have to be equated with the Harappans who culturally represent the age of the Atharva Veda and the later Vedic literature where they are prominently noticed.

The Mūjavats were the birth place of the Śiva-Rudra cult which soon found a better base in the Mahāvṛṣas to prosper and pose a threat to Vedic Brahmanism. The Śaivism of the Mahāvṛṣas was very rigid. Except for some later kings like Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakeya and Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa, they did not subscribe to the spirit of religious tolerance and synthesis of different creeds. They were the renegades, diehards and dissenters who violently resisted the rising cult of the sacrifice. This led to their being ostracized and branded as Asuras, Vrātyas Śūdras and Niṣādas and their country, now with the drying up of the Sarasvatī reduced to a desert and called Maru, being designated as the Utkara or rubbish-heap of Brahmā's Uttara-vedi of Kurukṣetra, although there was no ethnic division between them and the Kuru-Bharatas, their eastern neighbours across the Sarasvatī.

The animosity between the Rudra-worshipping Mahāvṛṣas and their allies on the west and the Viṣṇu-worshipping Kuru-Bharatas and their satellites in the east grew into a fierce political struggle reflected in the events like the Dāśarājña battle possibly mythologised later on as the Devāsura-Saṅgrāma. The Great Deluge sometime before 3000 B.C. ruined the economy of the Mahāvṛṣas and hastened the end of the great conflict leading to their downfall and large-scale migration and the establishment of supremacy of the Kuru-Bharatas who adopted and assimilated their god into their own pantheon and succeeded in all but deleting the Mahāvṛṣas from the pages of ancient Indian history.[589]

Notes and References

1. X. 34.1. describes Soma as Maujavata, 'coming from the Mūjavats or Mūjavants'. See Keith and Macdonell *Vedic Index* Vol. II. p. 170. As we shall see Yāska (Nirukta ix. 8) is wrong in taking Mūjavant as the name of a mountain although he is right in equating it with Munjavant.
2. *Ṛgveda* (R.V.) vii. 18.7.
3. V. 22, 4.5.8.
4. *e.g. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (J.B) i. 234; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇvīya recension* (S.B.K.) iv. 2.3.10. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (Ch. Up.) iv. 2.5; *Jaiminīya Upanisad Brāhmaṇa* (J.U.B.) iii. 40.2; *Baudhayana Śrauta Sūtra* (B.S.S.) ii.5.
5. *Original Sanskrit Texts* (O.S.T.) 2nd ed. Amsterdam 1967, Vol. II p. 352.
6. *Hymns of the Atharva Veda* Tr. (A.V.Tr.) Benares 1916. Vol. I p. 224. n. 5.

7. Cited by Muir O.S.T. Vol. ii p. 352.
8. *The History of Indian Literature*, Varanasi, Reprint 1974, p. 147
9. *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1972 (7th ed.), p. 24.
10. *Aryan Occupation of Eastern India*, Reprint, Calcutta, 1962 p. 86.
11. *Ethnology of Ancient Bhārata*, Varanasi 1970, p. 113.
12. *Racial Affinities of Early North Indian Tribes, Delhi*, 1973, pp. 23, 51 & 93.
13. *Vedic Index* Vol. ii. p. 142.
14. *Vedic Age*, London 1951, p. 258f.
15. *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, Reprint, Delhi, 1973, p. 446.
16. See *e.g.* R.C. Majumdar in *Vedic Age*, p. 48f. Of course the credit for doing pioneering work in this connection goes to F.E. Pargiter.
17. V. 22.
18. *cf.* S.C. Shrivastava, "Is Takman Malaria Fever ?" *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* (V.I.J.) (Prof. Jagannath Agrawal Fel. Vol.) Vol. XIX Pts. i-ii, pp. 284-87.
19. *op. cit.*, p. 446.
20. *ibid.*, p. 445f.
21. Griffith, *op. cit.*, Vol. I p. 224. n. 4.
22. *Atharva Veda Saṁhitā* (Eng Tr.), Delhi 1962, Vol. I p. 259.
23. Others are Mūjavats, Mahāvṛṣas, Gandhāris, Bahlikas, Aṅgas and Magadhas.
24. See Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties* 2nd ed. Delhi 1975, for a history of the Cāhamāṇas of Śakambharī. In the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Mor Calcutta ed. Maheśvara Khaṇḍa (Kumārikā Khaṇḍa) 39. 139. Śakambhara or Sayambhara is named as a Sapādalakṣa state *i.e.* having 1,25,000 grāmas.
25. *op. cit.*, p. 259.
26. *cited*, in the *Vedic Index* Vol. II, p. 346.
27. *op. cit.*, Vol. I p. 224.
28. *op. cit.*, p. 1.
29. *cf.* Muir *op. cit.*, Vol. II. p. 351.
30. *cf.* Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
31. *J.U.B.* iii.40.

31a. *cf.* R.P. Chanda, *Indo Aryan Races*, Vol. I. p. 59, cited by Shivaji Singh, *Evolution of the Smrti Law*, Varanasi 1972, p. 128. n. 3.

32. Gita Press ed. Karna, 30-44-45.

32a. Karṇa, 40.42 (ii) : मद्रका: सिन्धु सौवीरा: धर्मं विद्यु: कथं त्विह ।।

33. Śānti, 336. 53.
34. V.S. Agrawal, *India as Described by Manu*, Varanasi 1970 pp. 5-6; Also Mbh. *Karṇa*, 44. 6-7 & 31-34.
35. *Vedic Age*, p. 256.
36. i.i.31.

37. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 116f.
38. *Vedic Age*, p. 256.
39. E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (E.M.) Delhi, Reprint 1968, p. 226.
40. Cited in *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 117.
41. ii.5......विदेहेषु मे शीपथो महावर्षेषु मे ग्लौमूंजवत्सु मे तप्ना दुन्दुभौ मे कासिकेक्ष्वाकुषु मे पित्तं कलिङ्गेषु मेऽमेध्यम्......
42. Vana, 129.8-11.
43. Gita Press ed. 34.38-48.
44. Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
45. N.J. Shende, *The Religion And Philosophy Of The Atharva Veda*, Poona 1952, p. 25.
46. *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (I.G.I.) Oxford 1908, Vol. vii. p. 229.
47. *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (E.B.) Vol. I p. 171.
48. *I.G.I.* Vol. XIV, p. 243.
49. *I.G.I.* Vol. XX, p. 113.
50. *E.B.* Vol. I, p. 171.
51. ii.5.
52. See Bloomfield, Griffith and Whitney *op. cit.*
53. *op. cit.*, Vol. II p. 351.
54. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 589, col. ii.
55. Strassburg 1910, p. 423.
56. Second ed. Benares 1927 p. 28f. The text is :
    एतत्ते रुद्रावसं तेन परो मूजवतोऽतीहि अवततधन्वा पिनाकवास: कृत्तिवासा अहिंसन्न: शिवोऽतीहि ।
57. *Atharva Veda* (A.V.) V. 22.14. quoted above.
58. *A.V.* V. 22.4 quoted above. The Vahlikas were probably coterminus with the Udīcyas and embraced the whole of the Punjab beyond the Sarasvatī river. See O.P. Bharadwaj, Gaṅgā to Ghaggar with Valmiki *V.I.J* Vol. XVII (1979) pp. 142-167.
59. *A.V.* V. 22.5. quoted above.
60. See Muir *O.S.T* Vol. ii, p. 352.
61. *Āśvamedhika* 8.1-12.
62. See Muir *O.S.T.* Vol. ii, p. 352.
63. XXXVI. 14.
64. i.10.20.
65. ix. 8.
66. *op. cit.*, p. 91.
67. ix. 8.
68. ii. 6.2.17: अत्र ह वाऽप्रस्य परो मूजवद्भ्यश्चरणम् ।

69. See *The Wealth of India*, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, New Delhi, Vol. ix. p. 98.
70. Vide Edward Balfour, *Encyclopaedia Asiatica*, Delhi, Reprint, 1976. Vol. vi, p. 1010 and J. Wilson, Settlement report of the Sirsa District, Calcutta 1884, p. 15.
71. *Punjab States Gazetteers* Vol. XVII. A. Phulkian States, Lahore 1909. pp. 38 and 213. Also *Gazetteer of the Hissar District*, Lahore 1893, p. 19.
72. *cf.* D.P. Saxena, *Regional Geography of Vedic India*, Kanpur 1976, p. 25.
73. *Ś.B.*, vi. 3.1.26.
74. B.P. Roy, *The Later Vedic Economy*, Delhi 1984, p. 198.
75. *A. V.* 1.2.4; Griffith *A.V.* Tr. Vol. I, p. 4. n. 5.
76. *Ś.B.*, vi. 3.1.26; 6.1.23; 2.15.16 *etc.*
77. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (T.S.), V. i.9. and 10.5. *etc.*
78. B.P. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
79. *Ś.B.*, vi. 3.1.26.
80. *B.Ś.S.* xxi. 5.22.
81. *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* (Ā.Ś.S.), XXI. 17.10.
82. *Ś.B.* xii. 8.3.6.
83. *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra* (Ā.G.S.), X. II and *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* (B.D.S.), i.2.7.
84. B.P. Roy, *op. cit.*, Griffith, *A.V.* Tr. Vol. I, p. 4. n. 5.
85. *R.V.* I. 161.8.; *cf. Vedic Index*, Vol. ii, p. 165.
86. *R.V.* viii. 7.29; viii. 64.11, and IX. 65. 22-24 *etc.*, also see *Vedic Index*, Vol. ii, p. 474ff.
87. *cf.* Griffith's translation and notes on *R.V.* viii. 7.29 For Suṣoma *cf.* S.S. Bhave, *The Soma Hymns Of The Ṛgveda* Pt. III, Baroda 1962, p. 92.
88. Cited in *Vedic Index*, Vol. II. p. 364.
89. *ibid.*
90. iii. 64.
91. *I.G.I.* Vol. xiii. p. 53.
92. Śaryaṇā occurs in *R.V.* in the name Śaryaṇāvat at many places like i, 84.14; viii, 6.39 *etc.*, Śaryāṇa is given as a variant reading in *Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha*, K.D. Shastri, The Gaṇapātha Ascribed to Paṇini, Kurukṣhetra 1967, p. 149; Harayāṇa occurs in later literature and inscriptions in various forms. See O.P. Bharadwaj, *Restoration of Geographical Names in Northern India*, *V.I.J.* Vol. xx. Pts. i-11 (1982) pp. 201-218.
93. V.S. Agrawala, *India As Known to Pāṇini*, 2nd ed. 1973, p. 74.
94. Descendant of Cyavana and father of Jamadagni whose son was Bhārgava Paraśurāma. See P.L. Bhargava, *India In The Vedic Age*, Lucknow 1956, p. 71.

95. The present name of the town is Ram Rai which is obviously a corrupt form of Rāmahrada. *cf.* S.S. Parui, *Kurukṣetra In The Vāmana Purāṇa,* Calcutta 1946. p. 76.
96. *Vāmana P.* Gita Press ed. 35, 1-2.
97. *R.V.* vii. 96.2.
98. Vana, 125, 11-12. Here the lake is placed in the domain of King Śaryāti. Elsewhere the Mbh, (Ādi 6.8) locates Cyavana's hermitage on the Vadhūsarā river which is identified with Dohan flowing near Narnaul where a village called Dhosi is still associated with the memory of Cyavana and has a temple dedicated to him. See P.L. Bhargava *op. cit.*, p. 71.
99 Vana 125, 16 describes it as a mountain beyond the Saindhava forest.
100. See M.L. Bhargava, *The Geography of Ṛgvedic India,* Lucknow 1964, p. 20-23. Contrary to the view of P.L. Bhargava he locates them in Kashmir. His view cannot be supported from literary evidence.
101. M.L. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
102. *R.V.* viii. 7.29 :

    सुषोमे शर्यणावत्यार्जीके पस्त्यावति ।
    ययुर्निचक्रया नरः ।।

    Griffith's translation of निचक्रा as a 'downward car' is not quite satisfactory. It has to be rendered as a cart with 'lower wheels'. Even now we find many carts (called thelas in Hindi), fitted with lower front wheels.
103. *R.V.* vi. 61.12.
104. *eg., Vāyu P.* 108.73.
105. iii. 53.
106. *Kīkaṭa In Ṛksamhitā—Its Identification and Archaeological Importance,* A.C. Woolner Com. Vol. Lahore 1940. pp. 41-45.
107. Aitareya Br. (A.B) vii. 30 :
    देवा यज्ञेनेष्ट्वा स्वर्गं लोकमायंस् तत्रैतांश्चमसान्युब्जंस्ते न्यग्रोधा अभवन् न्युब्जा इति हाथ्येनानेतर्हि आचक्षते कुरुक्षेत्रे ते ह प्रथमजा न्यग्रोधानां तेभ्यो हान्येऽधिजाताः ते यन्नयंचो रोहंस्तस्मान्नयङ्रोहति न्यग्रोहो......
108. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
109. *R.V.* i. 43.4.
110. iii. 29. 4.
111. M.L. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
112. *R.V.* iii. 29.4.
113. *R.V.* iii. 23.2 and 4.
114. M.L. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
115. Vana, 83.22.
116. 34.38-40.
117. Silak Ram, *Tīrthas of Kurukṣetra As Enumerated In The Mbh.* And Vāmana

P., *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. viii, Nos. 1-2, 1976. (pp. 14-32) p. 18.

118. *Vāmana P.* 34.4)...कुरुक्षेत्रस्य तद् द्वार विश्रुतं पुण्यवर्धनम् ।। Also *Mbh. Vana*, 81.20 (i)

119. The earliest notice of the name Kurukṣetra occurs in the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā and the Brāhmaṇas. See *Vedic Index* Vol. I. p. 169. In later literature it is traced to the legendary King Kuru. See *Mbh. Śalya*, 53.2 and *Vāmana P.* (Gita Press ed.) 22.58.

119a. Nando Lal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi Reprint 1971, p. 15. and O.P. Bharadwaj, Gaṅgā to Ghaggar with Vālmīki, V.I.J. xvii (1979) pp. 142-167.

120. Ed. Raghuvira and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur 1954, iii. 183.

121. The Romance of Ancient Rohtak, *V.I.J.* Vol. XIII (1975) Pt. ii. pp. 17-28.

122. Chaukhamba, Benares 1936, 14, 3, 11-13.

123. Macdonell A.A., *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (H.S.L.) Reprint Delhi. 1962, p. 172.

124. कूलसूद स्थलकर्षा: संज्ञायाम् ।।

125. V.S. Agrawal, *op. cit.*, 1963, p. 66.

126. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (Skt-Eng Dic) p. 475.

127. *Vedic Index*, Vol. ii, p. 163.

128. *ibid.*, p. 97.

129. *R.V.*, iii. 33.

130. *R.V.*, iii. 53.15. 16.

131. *Vedic Index*, Vol. ii, p. 274ff.

132. *Mbh. Śalya*, 42.4 :

> आश्रमो वैवसिष्ठस्य स्थाणुतीर्थेऽभवन् महान् ।
> पूर्वतः पार्श्वतश्चासीत् विश्वामित्रस्य धीमतः ।।

133. iii. 53.24.

134. vii. 13-18.

135. vii. 3-5.

136. xv. 25.

137. *The Seers Of The Ṛgveda*, Poona 1964, p.

138. Ed. Alfred Hillebrandt 2 vols (*Ś.Ś.S.*) Reprint Delhi-1981. XV, 16.10.-13 :

तेन त्रिष्टोमेन वृद्धद्युम्नो नामाभिप्रतारिण इष्टवान् ।10।

तं वृद्धद्युम्नं ब्राह्मण: कश्चिदनुव्याजहार । अनुव्याज हारो नामाभिशाप: । 11 ।

एवं ब्राह्मणोऽनुव्याजहार । नायमयष्ट क्षत्रधृतिना वृद्धद्युम्न: अत: एतस्माद् यज्ञापचारादिममेव समरं संग्रामं प्रति कुरवो राजान: कुरुक्षेत्रात् देशाच्च्योष्यन्त इति । 12 ।

तथैवैतेन ब्राह्मणेनोक्तं तथैवाभूत् ।...

139. तेषाम कुरुक्षेत्रं वेदिरासीत् । तस्यै खाण्डवो दक्षिणार्ध आसीत् तूर्ध्नम् उत्तरार्धः । परीणज्जघनार्धः । मरव उत्कर: ।।
140. Ed. W. Caland and Raghu Vira, Delhi Reprint 1983, iv. 2.3.10 :
उदीचीं पथ्यया स्वस्त्या वाग्वै पथ्या स्वाति: तस्मादत्रोत्तरा है वाग्वदतीत्याहु: कुरूपञ्चालेषु कुरुमहावृषेष्वित्येतां हितया दिशं प्राजानन्नेषा हि तस्या दिक् प्रज्ञाता ।।
141. *op. cit.*, p. 51.
142. See S.C. Vasu, *The Aṣṭādhyāyī Of Pāṇini* (Eng Tr.) Delhi Reprint 1977, Vol. I. p. 310f.
143. *cf.* Mamata Choudhary, *Tribes of Ancient India*, Calcutta 1977, p. 27.
144. *R.V.*, iii. 53.9; 12; 24; 33; 11.12 *etc.*
145. *R.V.*, vi. 20.12.
146. *R.V.*, vii. 18.13.
147. Gopatha Br. (*G.B.*) 11.9.
148. *G.B.*, i. 2.9.
149. *A.B.*, viii. 14.
150. *G.B.*, i. 2.9.
151. *J.U.B.* iii, 7, 6; 8, 7, iv. 7.2. *G.B.* i. 2.9. *etc.* Also see *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 165.
152. *Mbh. Śalya*, 37. 1.
153. *Mbh. Virāṭa* 1.11.
154. *Ś.B.* i. 4.1.1.
155. *Vedic Index*, Vol. ii p. 279 n. 5 under Vāc.
156. i. 363.
157. *J.B.*, ii. 55.
158. i. 2.5.
159. *Ādī*, 182.6. He accompanies the Pāṇḍavas to the forest Sabhā, 80.8.
160. F.E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (A.I.H.T.) Delhi Reprint 1972, p. 233f.
161. *Pañcaviṁśa Br.* (P.B.) xiv. 11.18-19. Also W. Calands Eng. Tr. Calcutta 1931, p. 383, n on xiv 11.19 and P.L. Bhargava *op. cit.*, p. 114f.
162. *Mbh. Śalya* 42.4 quoted above.
163. i. 234.
164. iii. 40.
165. *Ś.B.*, xi. 6.2.1.
166. *ibid.*, xi. 5.3.1.
167. *ibid.*, xiii 5.4. 1-2. Also see H.C. Raychaudhury *op. cit.*, p. 50.
168. Devendra Handa, *V.I.J.* Vol. III Pt. (ii) Sept 1965, pp. 1-4.
169. J.B. I. 363. Also *cf Vedic Index*, Vol. ii, p. 379.
170. O.P. Bharadwaj, *Location Of The Naimiśa Forest*, *Purāṇa*, Vol. xxiv. No. 1 Jan 1982, pp. 208-217.

171. viii. 21.5.

172. Ch. iv. Sec. ii.

173. Gurumandal series Calcutta 1961, Vol. III Brahma Khanda Ch. 26.

174. Anandashram ed. Poona 1894, Uttarakhaṇḍa Pt. iv. Ch. 176.

175. Śankara's commentary on Ch. Up. iv. 2.3, Gita Press ed. V.S. 1994, p. 340ff.

176. iii. 6.5 :
त उ ह वा अपोदिता व्याक्रोशमानाश्चेरुश्शूद्रो दुरनुचान इति हस्म सुदक्षिण क्षैमिमाक्रोशन्ति प्राचीनशालिश्च जाबालौ च ।

177. iii 6.6 :
स ह स्माऽऽह सुदक्षिणः क्षैमिर्यत्र भूयिष्ठाः कुरुपञ्चालास्समागता भवितारस्तन्न एष संवादो नाऽनुपदृष्टे शूद्रा इव संवदिष्यामह इति ।

178. iii. 8.9. :

तं ह जाबालं प्रत्येतं कनीयान् भ्रातोवाच काम् भवाच्छूद्रको वाचभवादीति ।

179. Ch. Up. v. 3.5.

180. *B.C. Law*, Tribes In Ancient India, 2nd ed. Poona 1973, p. 350.

181. i. 2.3.

182. Salya, 37:1—

शुद्राभीरान् प्रति द्वेषाद्यत्र नष्टा सरस्वती ॥

183. *ibid.*

184. *B.C. Law*, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

185. Information courtesy Pt. Mauji Ram of Nauhar Distt. Ganganagar, Rajasthan.

186. *Punjab District Gazetteers* Vol. II A, Hissar Distt. Pvt. A Lahore 1916, p. 14.

187. *Punjab States Gazetteers* Vol. xvii. A, Lahore 1909, p. 228.

188. *I.G.I.* Vol. xxi, p. 108.

189. *I.G.I.* Provincial series, Rajputana, Calcutta 1908, p. 172, pp. 172, 234 and 240.

189a. *cf* Dr. Venkataramanayya quoted by Asis Sen, *Animal Motifs In Ancient Indian Art*, Calcutta 1972, p. 62.

190. *Zebu cattle of India And Pakistan*, F.A.O. (U.N.O.) Rome 1953 p. 87. Also R.L. Kaura, *Indian Breeds of Live Stock*, p. 13.

191. R.M. Acharya *et al. Genetic Analysis of a closed Herd of Haryana Cattle, Hissar* p. 1.

192. *Cattle and Dairying in Punjab*, Lahore 1927, p. 8.

193. *ibid.*, p. 51.

194. *cf.* Deenabandhu Pandey, The Tribal Deity of The Visanıns *Purātattva* No. 1 1967-68, p. 99.

195. vii. 18.7.

196. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II p. 381f. Also *cf. Cambridge History of India* Vol i., p. 82.
197. John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Reprint Delhi 1975 p. *c. xxiv*.
198. viii. 23.10.
199. Allan, *op. cit*.
200. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India As Described In Classical Literature*, Amsterdam 1975, p. 14, n. 2.
201. Sabhā, 32 7. and 52. 14.
202. *Bṛahtsamhitā*, xvi. 26 and xvii, 19.
203. xxi. 18. See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II p. 380.
204. *Vāyu P*. 99. 18-24 and *Brahmāṇḍa P*. 3. 74. 17-24. and *Matsya P*. 48. 15-21.
205. viii. 14.
206. iv. I.
207. ii. 10.
208. F.E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya P*. (Tr) Reprint Delhi 1969, pp. 377-80.
209. x. 59.10.
210. Vana, 131.21: Uśīnara says: राष्ट्रं शिवीनामृद्धं वैददानि तव खेचर ।
    & Ādi 185.16: बृहद्बल: सुषेणश्च शिविरौशीनरस्तथा ।...

    As the context clearly shows a Uśīnara is used here in the sense of King of Uśīnara country.
211. *Mbh. Vana*, 264.8. and 250.12.
212. *ibid*., 264.6.
213. *ibid*., 266.1.
214. *ibid*., 264.6.
215. *A.G.S*. VI. 14.5; Mantra Pāṭha, II. 11.12 :

    यौगन्धरिरेव नोराजा इति साल्वी खादिषु: ।
    विवृत्तचक्रा आसीना: तीरेणयमुने तव ।।

    cf. Winternitz, *Mantrapāṭha* (used by Āpastamba) Oxford 1897, Intro. p. xlvii. साल्वी: in the verse means साल्वी: प्रजा:
216. *Brahmāṇḍa P*., Ed. Jagdish Shastri, Delhi 1973, II (3) 74.23.
217. *Śraddhetihāsopaniṣad*,
    मैसुरु प्राच्यकोशागारस्य लिखित ग्रन्थसूचि प्रथम संपुटम्; p. 756, quoted by Bhagavaddatta, भारतवर्ष का इतिहास, 2nd. ed. Lahore 1940, p. 79:

    वृषादर्विकुलं ह वै शिविकुलं बभूव ।
218. Pt. Gaṅgā Prasāda Dādhīca, *Anubhūtacikitsāsāgara*, Ajmer 1908, Vol. I. p. 215.

219. D.P. Saxena, *op. cit.*, p. 25f.
220. Vol. i p. 103; V.S. Agrawal (*op. cit.*, pp. 9-19 and 54) erroneously takes Uśīnara to be a part of Vāhīka and places them in the north west on the basis of Pāṇini's aphorism iv 2. 118 which in fact alludes to some villages of the Vāhīka people situated in the Uśīnara country which, by his time, had shifted to the tract between the upper reaches of the Yamunā and Gaṅgā. Also *cf.* S.C. Vasu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I p. 742, on Pāṇini iv. 2.118. Kāśikā explains it as उशीनरेषु ये वाहीक ग्रामा: ।
221. Vide B.C. Law, *op. cit.*, passion and D.R. Bhandarkar, Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XL. (1911).
222. The number of such cases is too large. For one example see O.P. Bharadwaj, *Location Of The Naimisa Forest, Purāṇa*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Jan 1982) pp. 208-217.
223. *Sabhā*, 14.25-29.
224. See commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara On Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā iii. 61, and Muir *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 352. Also *Mbh. Āśvamedhika*, 8.1-12.
225. *Mbh. Vana*, 108.26 and *Vana*, Ch. 109.
226. *Vana*, 130.21.
227. *B.C. Law*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
228. H.C. Raychaudhuri *op. cit.*, p. 55.
229. Hultzch, *Indian Antiquary*, 1905, p. 179, Also Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, *Buddhakālina Bharatīya Bhūgola*, Prayag 1961, p. 87 and S.N. Majumdar Sastri Ed. Cunninghams *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta 1924, Intro p. 43.
230. *cf.* B. Bhattacharya, *Śaivism and The Phallic World* Delhi 1975, vol. ii p. 788.
231. *Mbh. Bhīṣma*, 6. 22-23.
232. *Mbh. Vana* iii. 10-11.
233. *Skt.-Eng. Dic.*, p. 821.
234. *Vana*, 83.22.
235. *Mbh. Ādi*, 5.216 and Anuśāsana, 132.36.
236. *Mbh. Śānti*, 289. 32-35.
237. *Brahmāṇda* P. 3.22-56-60.
238. *Viṣṇudharmottara* P. 1.52.65.
239. *E.M.*, p. 226.
240. *Bhāgavata P.*ii. Ch. 8 and *Skanda P.* Revā, Ch. 182.
241. Rahurkar *op. cit.*, p. 101.
242. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 91 Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii p. 26.
243. Rahurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
244. Rahurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 101, Hillebrandt *op. cit.*, Vol. ii p. 210.
245. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Rahurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

246. *Bṛhaddevatā*, vi. 50-53.
247. vi. 58.2.
248. i. 7.4.7.
249. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 30.253:... पूष्णो दन्त विनाशन: ...।
250. *cf.* Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii p. 207.
251. xiv. 3.13. For Eng tr. and notes see Translation by W. Caland, Calcutta 1931.
252. Macdonell A.A., H.S.L. p. 172.
253. *R.V.* vii. 18.13; it may also be noted that Pūru of *Ṛgveda* (vii. 8.4) and *Yajurveda* (xii. 34) is regarded in the Śatapatha Br. (vi. 81.14), as an Asura which is followed by Uvata and Mahīdhara in their comments on Yajurveda (xii. 34).
254. *Vāyu P.* 97, 68-93 and *Brahmāṇḍa* P. iii 72. 69-93.
255. *Mbh. Ādi*, 76.44-64.
256. Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrav, *Prācīna Caritra Kośa* (P.C.K.) Poona 1964, p. 303.
257. *A.V.*, V. 22.8 reproduced above.
258. *Vana*, 82.92-100.
259. *Vana*, 82.112.
260. *Vana*, 82.118.
261. Rahurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 214f.
262. *Vana*, 117. 11-14.
263. vii. 27.
264. *A.B.* viii. 21 and *Ś.B.* xiii. 5.4. 1-2: Here his priest at the sacrifice was Indrota-Daivāpa Śaunaka although before undertaking the conquest he was anointed with Aindra Mahābhiṣeka by Tura Kāvaṣeya according to the A.B.
265. *Ś.B.*, xi. 5.2.15 Here the fire altar was made by Tura Kāvaṣeya.
266. For identification of Āsandīvat see Devendra Handa, *V.I.J.* Vol. III Pt. ii (Sept. 1965) pp. 278-81 and for the identification of Kāroti, O.P. Bharadwaj, *V.I.J.* Vol. XIX Pts. i-ii (1981) pp. 170-75.
267. *Gita Press* ed. 27.12.
268. He was a pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi and a Kuru Pañcāla Brāhmaṇa. *cf.* Upendra Thakur, Birth place of Yājñavalkya, *V.I.J.* III (1965) pp. 273-77. The alternative of Gujarata left open by Thakur open to serious doubt.
269. Deenabandhu Pandey, *The Tribal Deity Of The Viṣāṇins*, *Purātattva*, No. 1 (1967-68) p. 99.
270. John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, Delhi Reprint 1973, Vol. I p. 54. It is important that the bull-horned head is common particularly during the early Indus period. See Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise Of Civilisation in India And Pakistan*, Delhi, 1983, p. 162. There is no reason for attributing the horns to a buffalo. See figure 6.14 at p. 146.

270a. R.D. Banerji *Mohenjodaro—A Forgotten Report*, Varanasi 1984, pp. 136-138.

271. Buddha Prakash, *Ṛgveda And The Indus Civilisation*, Hoshiarpur, 1966, p. 26.

272. Ragozin's association of the Visāṇins with the worship of Viṣṇu is nothing short of a wild conjecture. See Zenaide A. Ragozin, *Vedic India*, 2nd. ed. Delhi 1961 p. 328.

273. *op. cit.*, Vol. I pp. 53-56. For the figure see plate XII, 17.

274. *New Light On The Indus Civilisation*, Delhi 1957, Vol. I, p. 7ff.

275. *Purāṇic And Tantric Religion*, Calcutta 1966, p. 64. note 192.

276. *ibid.*, p. 64f.

277. *ibid.*, p. 65.

278. *Some Aspects Of The History of Hinduism*, (Aspects) Poona 1967, p. 9.

279. Cultural Sources From the Veda, Bombay 1977, p. 91; Dange accepts the possibility of the Ṛgvedic Aryans concurring with the Indus people. While admitting cultural differences between the Vedic people and the Śiṣnadevas and Mūradevas he rules out a direct physical conflict between them for reasons which are not quite sound.

280. Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

281. M.S. Vats, *Excavations At Harappa*, Delhi 1974, Vol. I p. 301.

281a. For varieties of bulls on Indus seals, Kankrej and Haryana breeds, Mohenjodaro Paśupati, Celtic god Cerunno and a typical Nandi in stone *etc.*, see *plates.*

282. K.N. Sastri *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 92.

283. E.J.H. Mackay, *Further Excavations At Mohenjodaro*, Reprint, Delhi, 1976, Vol. I, p. 326.

284. Vats, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

285. B.K. Thapar, *Kalibangan : A Harappan Metropolis beyond the Indus Valley in Ancient Cities of The Indus* ed. Gregory L. Possehl, Delhi 1979, pp. 196-202 (p. 201).

286. Marshall *op. cit.*, Vol. I p. 71.

287. *The Indus Civilisation*, London 1935, p. 81. This is the view of Dandekar also. *cf. Aspects*, p. 4.

288. *Aspects*, p. 10.

289. Bedrich Hrozny, *Ancient History of Western Asia, India* And Crete. Eng. Tr. *Prague*, p. 145.

290. *ibid.*

291. *ibid.*, p. 29.

292. *ibid.*, p. 42.

293. *ibid.*, p. 89. It is however not possible to accept Hrozny's view that bull's horns were a symbol of gods even in Harappan culture (p. 162) and that this idea points to the west for its origin (p. 163).

294. Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise Of Civilisation In India And Pakistan*,

New Delhi 1983, p. 146.

295. Pierge Amiet *et al. Art in the Ancient World* (Eng. Tr. Valerie Bynner, London 1981, p. 69.
296. *ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
297. *ibid.*, p. 123.
298. *ibid.*, p. 173.
299. *ibid.*, p. 47.
300. See *e.g.* Shashi Asthana, *History and Archaeology Of India's Contacts with Other Countries*, Delhi 1976.
301. *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, Vol. I Bombay 1953. p. 244ff.
302. Quoted by Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 186 from his French work *Le Peuplement de l' Europe*, p. 119.
303. *The Ancient History of The Near East*, Reprint, London, 1963, pp. 173-74.
304. The Races of Man and their Distribution, p. 100 quoted by Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
305. cited by Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
306. The Indus and the Pentateuch, Blackfriars, XXVII (1946), p. 267 cited by Heras. *op. cit.*, p. 186.
307. I have named western authorities particularly in order to show that the views of the Leonard Woolley-Wheeler-Stuart Piggot school of thought were not always taken for granted by them as by most of us in the East. They were of course challenged here too, among others, by scholars like A.C. Das, Lakshman Sarup, Sampurnanand, K.N. Shastri, R.B. Pandey, Pavgi and L.D. Kalla on various grounds and more recently by K.D. Sethna (The Problem of Aryan Origins and Karpasa in Prehistoric India). An exhaustive study of political considerations which have coloured the examination of the Aryan problem is undertaken in Poliakov's 'The Aryan Myth : Happily the Indian archaeologists are now inclined to realise the force of literary evidence and consider the question of extra-Indian origin of the so-called Indo-Aryans as still quite open. Names like B.K. Thapar and H.D. Sankalia can be mentioned in this connection. It is nice to see the euphoria in favour of the western origin of Indo-Aryans or Aryans subsiding at last.
308. *Acta Orientalia* 11, 1932-33; Also Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
309. *S.B.A.* 1925. Cited by R.N. Dandekar, *Vedic Bibliography*, Bombay 1964, p. 245.
310. See Paul Thieme, The 'Aryan' Gods of the Mitanni Treaties; Journal of the American Oriental Society, 80 (1960) p. 303ff. Jacobi (*J.R.A.S.* 1909, pp. 721ff) felt that these names were introduced into Mesopotamia by a body of Sanskrit speaking people from the Punjab. Pargiter (*A.I.H.T.* p. 300) also endorses this theory.

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311. विचक्रमे पृथिवीमेष एतां क्षेत्राय विष्णुर्मनुषे दशस्यन् ।
ध्रुवासो अस्य कीरयोजनास उरुक्षितिं सुजनिमाचकार ॥

312. B.K. Chattopadhyaya, The Mohenjodaro Civilisation, Proceedings and Transactions, *A.I.O.C.* 21st Session, Srinagar Oct 1961, Vol. II Pt. 1, pp. 3-9.
313. *The Races of Man and their Distribution*, p. 100, cited by Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 243, n. 2.
314. *Semetic And Hemitic Origins*, pp. 36-37, cited by Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
315. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 104.
316. Bedrich Hrozny, *Ancient History Of Western Asia, India and Crete*, Pragne, p. 35.
317. Gregory L. Possehl, *Ancient Cities Of The Indus*, Delhi 1971, Plate vi-6.
318. Stuart Piggot, *Pre-historic India*, Great Britain 1950, p. 155; Joseph regards the humped bull a purely Indian Animal, "The near East and The Indus Valley", *J.U.B.* xii (1944) pp. 10-11, cited by Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
319. *cf.* S.A. Dange, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
320. *cf.* Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
321. *R.V.* 1.6.2, 29.
322. *cf.* K.N. Sastri *op. cit.*, Vol. II. 92.
323. *A.V.* iv. 11.1.
324. *ibid.*, ix. 417.
325. G.S. Ghurye, *Vedic India*, Bombay 1979, p. 44.
326. K.N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, Vol. II p. 144.
327. A.A. Macdonell, *The Vedic Mythology* (V.M.) Reprint, Delhi, 1971, p. 74.
328. A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy Of The Veda*, Hindi Tr. Suryakant Delhi 1963, p. 176.
329. *ibid.*, p. 177.
330. *ibid.*, p. 178.
331. *V.M.* p. 75.
332. *ibid.*, p. 75.
333. *ibid.*
334. Keith *op. cit.*, p. 179.
335. Various other symbols of Śiva-worship also appear on coins *e.g.* the Liṅga, Sthala-vṛkṣa and Triśūla *etc.*, See J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi 1974, p. 113ff.
336. K.N. Shastri *op. cit.*, Vol. II p. 93.
337. John Allan, *op. cit.*, passim.
338. *ibid.*
339. Omanand Sarasvati, *Ancient Mints Of Haryana, Jhajjar* (*Rohtak*) 1979, passim.
340. K.N. Sastri *op. cit.*, Vol. II p. 93.

341. J.N. Banerjea, *Purāṇic And Tāntric Religion*, Calcutta 1966, p. 75.
342. *ibid.*, p. 76.
343. Plate XXV in '*Ancient Cities Of The Indus*' Ed. Gregory L. Possehl, Delhi 1979.
344. Plate X. 16 ref. R.S. Bisht, *Excavations at Banawali* 1974-77 *in Harappan Civilisation* (*A contemporary Perspective*) ed. Gregory L. Possehl, Delhi 1982.
345. ii. 5 quoted *supra.*
346. *Mbh. Śalya* 37.1...
347. Cited by Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 2nd ed. Delhi 1975, p. 279.
348. *Āśvamedhika*, 29. 15-16.
349. *Droṇa*, 143.15.
350. *Skt.-Eng. Dic.* p. 1013.
351. *Āśvamedhika*, 8.19.
352. See *e.g. Mbh. Ādi*, 217.19 and *Drona*, 142.53 and 64; 143-15; 198.54 *etc.*
353. *Anuśāsana*, 14.214.
354. *Vana*, 130. 3-4 :

> एषा सरस्वती रम्भा दिव्या चौघवती नदी ।
>
> एतद् विनशनं नाम सरस्वत्या विशाम्पते ।।
>
> द्वारं निषाद राष्ट्रस्य येषां द्वेषात् सरस्वती ।
> प्रबिष्टा पृथिवीं वीर मानिषादा हि मां विदु: ।।

355. viii. 2.8. :

> निषादेषु तिस्रोवसतीति पार्श्वतो निषाद ग्रामस्य वसेत् ।

356. i. 1.12.
357. The meaning of Sthapati is not quite settled. *Vedic Index* Vol. I p. 454 equates it with a noble of some kind, Monier Williams (*Skt.-Eng.-Dic.* p. 1262) gives 'architect' as one of its meanings and Sāyaṇa, on Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, xvii. 11.6 takes him for a person skilled in the technique of the establishment of Dharma. The term may equally well be rendered as a 'town official or estate officer' although Caland (Eng. Tr. of *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, xvii. 11.6. and n. 1) rendered it as a 'chief judge' who according to him was probably a Vaiśya.
358. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I p. 454, where Weber too is cited as taking the Niṣādas for settled aborigines.
359. xvi. 27.
360. x. 8.

361. *Skt. Eng. Dic.* p. 1043 Col. ii. S.V.
362. xvii. 1.
363. *Ancient Indian Education*, Reprint, Delhi 1974, p. 139.
364. ii. 39.
365. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, i. 38, *Garuḍa P.* 94.
366. *A.V.* XV. 8.1, 9.1.
367. *A.V.* XV. 1.
368. *P.B.* xvii. 1.9.
369. Vol. ii p. 342.
370. *Aspects*, p. 14f.
371. *R.V.* vi. 31. 1.
372. *R.V.* vi. 61.1.
373. *Hillebrandt* Vol. ii p. 210.
374. *ibid.*
375. *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, Delhi 1979, p. 111.
376. *ibid.*
377. *R.V.* viii. 6.3.
378. Rahurkar *op. cit.*, p. 102.
379. i. 93.4.
380. Vol. i p. 343.
381. *R.V.* vi. 61.3.
382. *R.V.* vi. 61.2.
383. *R.V.* vi. 61.1.
384. Hillebrandt *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 334. There is no justification for placing this Sarasvatī in Arachosia. In doing so Hillebrandt (vol. ii p. 210) is obviously influenced by his belief in the extra-territorial origin of the Aryans in India which is now being seriously questioned. Hillebrandt is himself forced to accept the existence of a river Sarasvatī in the Madhyadesa also. See *op. cit.*, Vol. I p. 352.
385. *Vedic Index*, Vol. ii p. 209.
386. *Mbh. Vana*, 103; *Padma P.* Sṛṣṭi 19.186.
387. *Vedic Index* Vol. i p. 7.
388. Rahurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

388a. Kapila's hermitage was at Bindusara lake in the north of Kailāśa. *Bhāgavata P.* iii. 25.5; and *Mbh. Sabhā*, 3.2-3.

388b. See O.P. Bharadwaj, *Gaṅgā to Ghaggar with Vālmīki*, *V.I.J.* XVII (1979) pp. 142-167.

389. Rahurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 124; Also Umesh Chandra Sharma, *The Viśvāmitras and the Vasiṣṭhas*, Aligarh 1975, p. 279. Jogi Raj Basu, *India Of The Age Of The Brāhmaṇas*, Calcutta 1969, p. 125f.
390. Rahurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

391. *ibid.*, p. 126. n. 61.
392. Merchants in Vedic and Heroic India, Modern Review, May 1954, p. 401.
393. vii. 18.5.
394. vii. 18.16.
395. viii. 3.9; 6.18 and 102.4.
396. Bhṛgu's differences with god Viṣṇu are well-known, as the latter failed to pay due homage to the Ṛṣi. Bhṛgu was a worshipper of Śiva, his progeny Ṛṣi Śukra the guru of the Asuras and a great partisan whose power had to be challenged by Viṣṇu himself. Bhṛgu's disciple and descendant Paraśurāma opposed Rāma Dāśarathi *cf.* Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I p. 216.
397. *R.V.* vii. 18.
398. *op. cit.*, Vol. I p. 58, 59.
399. vii. 21-5 (ii) :

    सशर्धदर्यो विषुणस्यजन्तोर्मा शिश्नदेवा अपि गुर्ऋतं नः ॥

400. See his article 'The Ṛgveda And Mohenjodaro', in *Indian Culture*, Vol. iv, July, 1937-April, 1938 Nos. 1-4 pp. 149-169.

400a. *Hillebrandt* Vol. II, p. 267. It is interesting to note that according to R.D. Banerji the discovery of double spouted oblation vessels at Mohenjodaro proves like Egyptian and Cretan worship of the third millenium B.C. ancient Indian worship also consisted of simultaneous oblations, an idea absolutely foreign to the Vedic ritual. See Mohenjodaro—A Forgotten Report, Varanasi, 1984, pp. 135 and 159.

401. *Śalya*, 43. 22-23.
402. *V.M.*, p. 156.
403. *op. cit.*, Vol. ii p. 268.
404. *Mbh. Ādi.*, 67.6.
405. *Viṣṇu P. P*, 14.11, *Vāyu* 96.158 *etc.* and *Mbh. Ādi.* 67.5.
406. *Mbh. Ādi*, 67. 16-17.
407. *Mbh. Ādi*, 67.88-89.
408. *Mbh. Sabhā*, 17.12.
409. *Mbh. Sabhā*, 17.40.
410. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* 88.5.
411. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona 1962, (H.O.D.) Vol. V, Pt. ii, P. 974f where this point is made with extensive references to Purāṇic texts.
412. *Śivamahāpurāṇa*, *Śatarudrasaṁhitā*, chs. 22-23.
413. *Matsya P.* 129.27.
414. *Bhāgavatā P.* 6.10.
415. *Brahmāṇḍa P.* iii. 36.37.
416. *Mbh. Ādi*, 65.24 and 81.34-35.
417. *Bhāgavata P.* 6.6,31-32, 10.20.

418. *Skt.-Eng.-Dic.* p. 1072.
419. *Brahmāṇḍa P.* iii. 74.23.
420. Śraddhetihāsopaniṣad quoted supra. N. 217.
421. *Mbh. Anusāsana*, 93.53 ff.
422. *ibid.*, 33.22-23.
423. *Mbh. Vana*, 266.1.
424. *Vāmana P.* (Gita Press ed.) 34.27.
425. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* 91.84.
426. *V.M.* p. 162.
427. *R.V.*, X 131. 4-5.
428. *R.V.* ii.99.6.
429. *R.V.* vi, 61 : Sarasvati gives Divodāsa as son to Vadhryaśva, See supra.
430. *Padma P.* Sṛṣṭi 19.70-71.
431. *Mbh. Ādi*, 5.216; *Brahmāṇḍa P.* iii. 2.38.
432. *Brahmāṇḍa P.* iii 1.74; *Vāyu P.* 65.73.
433. *Mbh. Ādi*, Ch. 65-66 and 76.
434. *Mbh. Śānti*, 137. 66-68.
435. *Vāyu P.* 2.26, *Bhāg. P.* 4.11-12.
436. It is mentioned as a tīrtha in *Mbh. Vana*, 83.19. Also see O.P. Bharadwaj, *Haryana—Eka Sānskṛtika Adhyayana*, Chandigarh 1978, Prākkathana, p. xviii.
437. *P.C.K.* p. 588. The oldest name of the *A.V.* is Atharvāṅgirasaḥ a designation occurring in the text of the *A.V.* and found at the beginning of its Mss. themselves, Macdonell, *H.S.L.*, p. 158f.
438. *cf.* Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 786.
439. *ibid.*, p. 777f.
440. *Devī Bhāgavata P.* 4.11-12.
441. *cf.* Rahurkar *op. cit.*, p. 159.
442. *Bṛhaddevatā*, vi. 50-53.
443. iv. 37.1.
444. *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī of Madhava* (v. 8.12. and 15) quoting from *Śāṭyāyanaka* :

> अत्र शाट्यायनकम् । कण्वोवैंनार्षंदो बकस्य असुरस्य दुहितरमविन्दत ।
> तस्यां हास्य त्रिशोकनामाकौ पुत्रौ जज्ञाते । ...

—Reproduced by Rahurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

444a. *cf.* R.D. Banerji, *Mohenjodaro—A Forgotten Report*, Varanasi 1984, pp. 100-101.
445. *Vāmana. P.* 9.4-5.
446. *ibid.*, 11, 5-6.
447. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, Canto. 31.
448. *P.C.K.* p. 711.
449. *Brahmāṇḍa P.* ii.12.26-29.

450. *Matsya P.* 47.126; *Viṣṇu P.* i Ch. 10.
451. *Mbh. Vana,* 83-135 and Śalya, 39.9-22 and *Vāmana P.* 39.1.
452. *Vāmana P.* 12.45.
453. *Vāmana P.* 34.27 :

पञ्चनदाश्च रुद्रेण कृता दानवभीषणा: ।
तत्र सर्वेषु लोकेषु तीर्थं पञ्चनदं स्मृतम् ।।

454. *ibid.*, 15, 42-45.
455. *Mbh. Ādi,* 65.20.21.
456. *Mbh.* Vol. I, p. 823, verses following Sabhā, 38.29 in the southern recension.
457. *Śiva P. Śatarudrīya* chs. 22 and 23.
458. *Vāmana P.* 26.
459. *Skt.-Eng.-Dic.* p. 1212.
460. *Mbh. Ādi,* 67.25-26.

460a. B.K. Ghosh, *Collection Of The Fragments Of Lost Brāhmaṇas*, Reprint, New Delhi 1982, pp. 13-15.

460b. *J.B.* iii.64.

461. *Vâmana P.* 7.41-42 and 8.29.
462. *ibid.*, 22.39-41.
463. *Kūrma P.* ii, 36.38-39 and *Vāmana P.* (K.T. ed.) 63.5.
464. Silak Ram *op. cit.*, p. 18.
465. *Mbh. Vana,* 83.164.
466. *Mbh. Śalya,* 43.46.49.
467. *Mbh. Śalya,* 39. 4-7.
468. *Mbh. Śalya,* 39. 16-18.
469. *Mbh. Śalya,* 41.29-30.
470. *Vāmana P.* 40. 24-25 and Mbh. Śalya 43.1-3.
471. *Mbh. Śalya*, 43.30 (i) :

अरुणामानयामास स्वां तनं भरतर्षभ ।...

472. *Mbh. Śalya,* 42.39 and *Vāmana P.* 40.21.
473. *Mbh Śalya,* 37.9.
474. *Mbh. Śalya,* 37.21.
475. *Mbh. Śalya,* 46. 82-84.
476. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* p. 376. n., considers it a portion of the Maināka Mt. which has been identified by B.C. Law with the Shiwalik range. See प्राचीन भारत का ऐतिहासिक भूगोल p. 28.
477. *Vāmana P.* 20.36.
478. *Devi Bhāgvata P.* 1, 5.86-88.
479. *Mbh. Vana,* 209.27.
480. *Vālmīki's Rāmāyana*, Uttara, 59.5; 14-16; 20.
481. *R.V.* vi. 61.7.

482. Rangeya Raghava, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Paramparā Aura Itihāsa* Delhi 1953, p. 169.
483. *P.C.K.* p. 588.
484. *ibid.*, p. 264 : Mbh. Vana, 100. 21-22.
485. *Vayu P.* 65.11.
486. *Mbh. Śalya*, 51.41.
487. *Vāmana P.* 36 52-53.
488. *E.M.*, p. 209 quoting *Mbh.* 235, 75f. from the southern recension :

    निन्दन्ति स्तवनं विष्णोस्तस्य नित्यद्विषो जनाः ।

489. Benjamin Walker, *An Encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism*, London 1968, Vol. II. p. 306.
490. *Ādi*, 94. 37-38.
491. *ibid.*, verses 42-47. According to some scholars this episode is only an echo of the Ṛgvedic Dāśarājña battle and king Sudas has been presented as a Pāñcālya because by the time of the composition of the Great Epic his people had moved to North Pañcāla. For a discussion of different views see Umesh Chandra Sharma, *The Viśvāmitras And The Vasiṣṭhas*, Aligarh 1975 p. 294ff.
492. Ed. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur 1954, ii.206.
493. iii. 82.
494. iii. 238.
495. xv. 16.12-13. See supra.
496. *cf.* A.K. Chatterjee, *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition*, Calcutta 1974, pp. 72-78.
497. *A.I.H.T.* p. 148.
498. *ibid.*, p. 114.
499. See *supra*.
500. The Jaiminīya Brāhmana (iii. 117) says that the world originally belonged to the Asuras and the gods were, as it were, their dependents.
501. *A.I.H.T.* p. 114.
502. Vāmana deprives Bāli of the three worlds and sends him to Pātāla : *Vāmana P.* 31.66.

502a. R.C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta 196 pp. 77-79 and passim.

503. W.W. Tara, *The Greeks In Bactria And India*, Cambridge Reprint 1966, *P.* 147.
504. *Ādi*, 28.1; Dange (*op. cit.*, p. 34) detects in a legend recorded in the Suparṇādhyāya and the *Mahābhārata*, presenting Garuḍa as eating the Niṣādas, the defeat and assimilation of the latter by the Aryans whom we shall, equate here with the tribes on the east of Vinaśana.

505. Rahurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 105. n. 115.
506. Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, Vol. i. p. 340.342.
507. *ibid.*, p. 343.
508. *ibid.*, p. 341.
509. F.D. Schrader, *Z.D.M.G.* (1934) pp. 185ff. cited by Dandekar, Some Aspects Of The History Of Hinduism, p. 9.
510. *New Larousses Encyclopedia Of Mythology*, 12th impression, London 1977, p. 237.
511. *ibid.*, p. 224.
512. *ibid.*, p. 224.
513. Aryan Kings like Svanaya Bhavya (1.126.2) and Rāma (x. 93.14) have been called Asura in the *Ṛgveda.* Also see P.L. Bhargava, *The Word Asura in the Ṛgveda. A.B.O.R.I.* Vol. LXIV (1983) Pts. I-IV. pp. 119-128.
514. Both are repeatedly called Prajāpatyas in the Brāhmaṇas. See *e.g. Ś.B.*, xi. 1.8.1, xiv. 4.1.1. and *T.S.* iii 6.7 :

    प्रजापतिर्देवासुरान सृजत :

515. *Mbh. Ādi.* 66.34.
516. See O.P. Bharadwaj, Identification of Vinaśana And Some Consequential Observations, *Svasti Śrī* (Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra Fel. Vol.) Delhi 1984, pp. 205-224.
517. Their territories, as we have tried to show lay beyond Vinaśana or Kalibangan.
518. *S.B.* i.8.1.
519. Devasthali, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

519a. *S.B.* xiii. 8.2.1 :

    देवाश्चासुरा श्चोभये प्राजापत्या अस्मिन् लोकेऽस्पर्धन्त्
    ते देवा असुरान् सपत्नान् भ्रातृव्यान् अस्माल्लोकादनुदन्त :

520. *Mbh Karṇa*, 34.34.
521. *Mbh. Vana.*, 83.164.
522. K.K. Dasgupta, *Tribal History of Ancient India*, Calcutta 1974, p. 228.
523. *Mbh. Sabhā*, 32.4.
524. *ibid.*, v. 5.
525. See *Śabdakalpadruma*, Delhi 1961, Vol. II. p. 107. Also *cf.* Dasgupta *op. cit.*, p. 200.
526. For different versions and interpretations of the Tripuradāha story see Gaya Charan Tripathi, The Legend of the Destruction of Tripura And its Vedic Origin, in *Amṛtadhārā* (Prof. Dandekar Fel. Vol.) ed. S.D. Joshi, Delhi 1984, pp. 445-455.
527. iv. 6.

528. *ibid.*, iv. 8 :

    इषुं वा एतां देवा समस्कुर्वत यदुपसदः । तस्य अग्निरनीकमासीत् सोमः शल्यो, विष्णुस्तेजन, वरुणः पर्णानि । ताम् आज्यधन्वानो व्यसृजन् ।

529. *Rudra Saṁhitā*, 5th Kāṇḍa, 1.6.27.
530. *Skt.-Eng.-Dic.* p. 1235.
531. *Mbh. Sabhā*, 38 reading of the southern recension after verse 29. pp. 784-85 of the Gita Press ed.
532. *Matsya P.* 1-2; 290.
533. *Bhāgavata P.* 2.7. and *Matsya P.* 47.46.
534. *Vāmana P.* 31.66.
535. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, *Yuddha*, 107. 57.
536. For more names see *Mbh. Śānti*, 339.76-98; Also *cf. P.C.K.* p. 158ff.

536a. *Harivamśa P.* ii.21.7f.

537. *V.M.*, p. 40.
538. *Śānti*, 160.26ff.
539. *Anuśāsana*, Ch. 160.
540. *Śabdakalpadruma*, Vol. IV p. 487.
541. *Matsya P.* 139.49.
542. *Mbh. Śalya*, 44.49.
543. *ibid.*, 46.84.
544. *H.O.D.*, Vol. V (Pt. ii) pp. 973-4. where this point is examined in detail with extensive quotations from the Purāṇas.
545. 70.14.36 and 41 and other texts quoted by Kane.
546. *Devasthali*, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
547. *ibid.*
548. *ibid.*, p. 49.
549. *ibid.*, p. 50f.
550. viii, Chs 7 and 8.
551. *Ś.B.* ii. 6.1.16.
552. *T.S.* I. 1.8., *Ś.B.* ii. 5.3.19. Also *cf.* Bhide, *The Cāturmāsya sacrifices*, Pune 1979, p. 194.
553. *Sauptika*, Ch. 18.
554. *Anuśāsana*, Ch. 160.
555. *ibid.*, 77.27-28.
556. *ibid.*, v. 29 :

    ततो देवैर्महादेवः तदा पशुपतिः कृतः ।
    ईश्वरः सगवां मध्ये वृषांकः प्रकीर्तितः ।।

557. *E.M.* p. 210.
558. *Mbh. Anuśāsana*, 14.313-14.

559. *Vide* description of the Tryambaka rite in V.V. Bhide, *op. cit.*, p. 194f.
560. See *e.g. Ś.B.*, XIV. 1.1.
561. XVI. 20-21.
562. See *e.g. J.B.* I. 97; *M.S.* ii. 5.3; iii. 10.6., iv. 3.4, *Ś.B.* iii. 2.7.1., vi. 1.1.1., XI. 1.8.1., *etc.* The *M.S.* i. 10.15. and *Kauśītakī Saṁ* (K.S.). 36.9. relate an episode in this rivalry in which the Asuras send forth hunger to the gods who offer it an ample oblation of rice on which it turns back and brings defeat to the Asuras. One is tempted to interpret this episode as an attack of locusts from the direction of the Mahāvṛṣas upon the Kurus who managed to survive it with considerable damage to their crops. The Ch. Up. (i. 10. 1) refers to such an attack during which the sage Uśasti Cākrāyaṇa was obliged to take shelter, in great distress in a village of an elephant driver (Ibhyagrāma).
563. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 787.
564. *V.M.*, p. 74.
565. *E.M.*, p. 220.
566. *Bāla*, Canto, 75.
567. *Śānti*, 342.106ff.
568. *Karṇa*, 35.1-2.
569. *E.M.*, p. 209.
570. *Mbh. Vana*, 83.208.
571. *e.g. Mbh. Śalya*, 39.35; *Bhāgavata P.* III. 21.6 and *Vāmana P.* 43.34; 49. 22-26 and 18. 21-22, *etc.*
572. *e.g. Ś.B.*, IV. 1.5.13 and XIV 1.1.2 and *M.S.* II. 1.40. III. 126; and IV 5.9.
573. *Mbh. Anuśāsana*, 17.107.
574. *Vāmana, P.* 22.23.
575. Indische Studien, I. 206, *cited* in *E.M.*, p. 213.
576. *Mbh. Ādi*, 228.18 and Vana 47.10f.
577. *Mbh. Vana*, 142. 29.
578. *ibid.*, 13, 149; 41.76 *etc.* Also *cf. E.M.*, p. 206.
579. II.5. quoted by J.R. Joshi, *Minor Vedic Deities*, Poona 1978, p. 40 :

   भगवन् बृहस्पते समस्तदेवताचार्याङ्गिरस गोत्र सिन्धुदेशेश्वर दीप्तसुवर्ण-सदृशाङ्गदीप्ते चतुर्भुजदण्ड कमण्डल वक्ष सूत्र वरदाङ्कितपीताम्बर माल्यानुलेपन समस्त विद्याधिपते नमस्ते पीतस्वरथवाहनेन मरुम् (मरुम्?) प्रदक्षिणीकुर्वन्नागच्छ इन्द्रब्रह्माभ्याम् सह ।

   It must be remembered that Bṛhaspati is believed to have revived the declining institution of sacrifice *cf.* Devasthli and Shende cited by Joshi *op. cit.*, p. 33. n. 101. He is also stated in the Maitrāyanī Āraṇyaka vii. 9. to have disguised himself as Śukra and imparted to the Asuras the doctrine of non existence of Ātman—the doctrine of delusion—to bring about their destruction. See Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

580. *Suparṇādhyāya* (viii. 16), a late Vedic text, describes the Niṣādas as a Rāṣṭra with many divisions. See S.A. Dange *op. cit.*, p. 33 :

    निषादराष्ट्रम् बह्वेकभेदम्

581. *Mbh. Vana*, 130.2.
582. *ibid.*, *Śānti*, 342.25.
583. *ibid.*, 284.69-180.
584. *Vāmana P.* 40.40-43.
585. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii p. 859.
586. *ibid.*, p. 833. Bhattacharya (*ibid.*, p. 807) interprets the churning of the ocean together by the gods and demons also as signifying a synthesis of the Śiva cult with Vedic Brāhmanism.
587. Pūrvamīmānsā Sūtra quoted by Dange *op. cit.*, p. 34. :

    एतया (रुद्रेष्ट्या) निषादस्थपतिं याजयेत् ।

588. Aupamanyava quoted by Yāska, Nirukta III. 7 :

    चत्वारो वर्णा निषदः पञ्चमः ।

588a. Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, vi..i. quoted supra.

589. We are well aware of other attempts to equate the Asuras or opponents of the Bharatas with the Indus people but our approach is on entirely different lines. Reference to only two studies by Malati J. Shendge (*The Civilised Demons, The Harappans In Ṛgveda*, New Delhi 1977) and S.R. Rao (*The Decipherment Of The Indus Script*, Delhi 1982) will suffice to illustrate our point. Shendge does not concern herself with the Mūjavats and Mahāvṛṣas while propounding the hypothesis that the Ṛgvedic hymns were composed by the Aryans to celebrate their victory over the non-Aryan Asuras, Rākṣasas Gandharvas, Yakṣas and Piśācas who were the Indus people. S.R. Rao's conclusions rest on his decipherment of the Indus script which is yet to receive general acceptance of Indologists. Some of his readings are interesting. He reads Vṛṣa on 34 Indus seals, and associates them with the unicorn motif and the ruling clan of the Mahāvṛṣas (pp. 270, 281.). He finds the Śivas among the tribes appearing on two seals (p. 280). He supports identification of the Harappans with the opponents of the Bharatas (p. 306.) but takes them for pre-Vedic Indo-Europeans speaking 'ha' in place of 'sa' who moved for lower and middle reaches of the Indus after the floods in 1900 B.C. With due deference these scholars appear to have been influenced by Wheeler and Burrow whose theories on the end of the Indus civilisation have since been refuted. (On Wheeler see George F. Dales, *The Mythical Massacre at Mohanjo Daro*, *Expedition* Vol. 6. No. 3, 1964 pp. 36-43. And for Refutation Of T. Burrow's Theory On The Significance Of Arma and Armaka, Proceedings Of The All India Oriental Conference, Dharwar (28th Nov. 1976) Session, Poona 1978, pp. 245-255.

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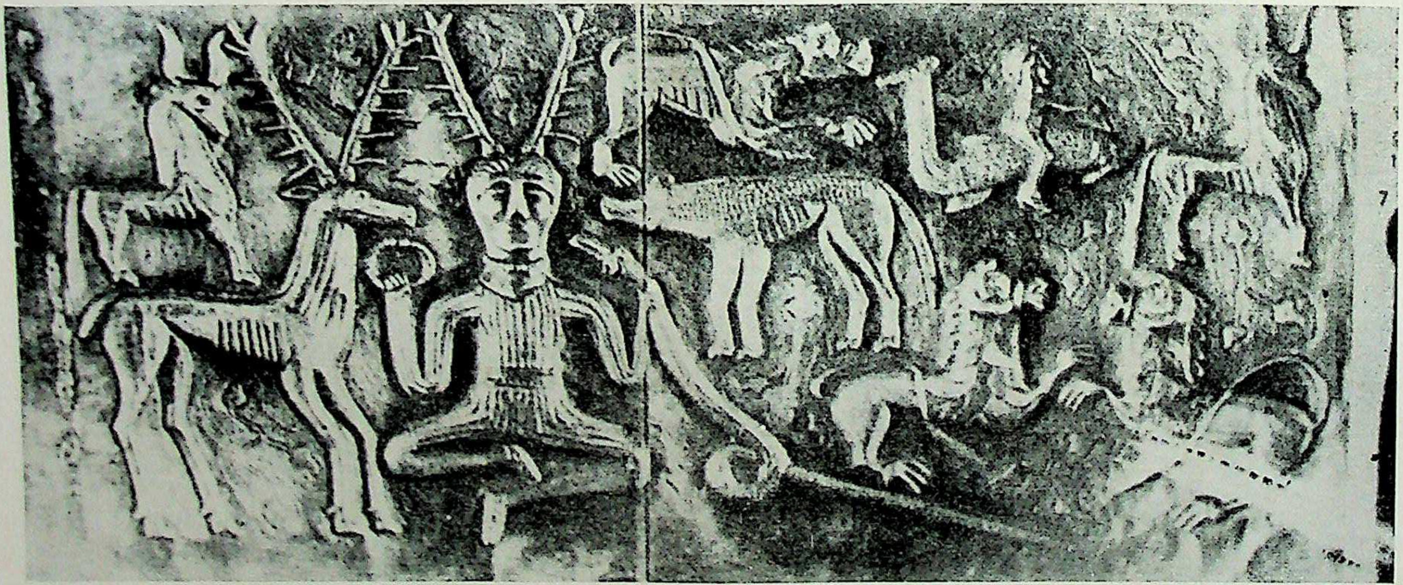
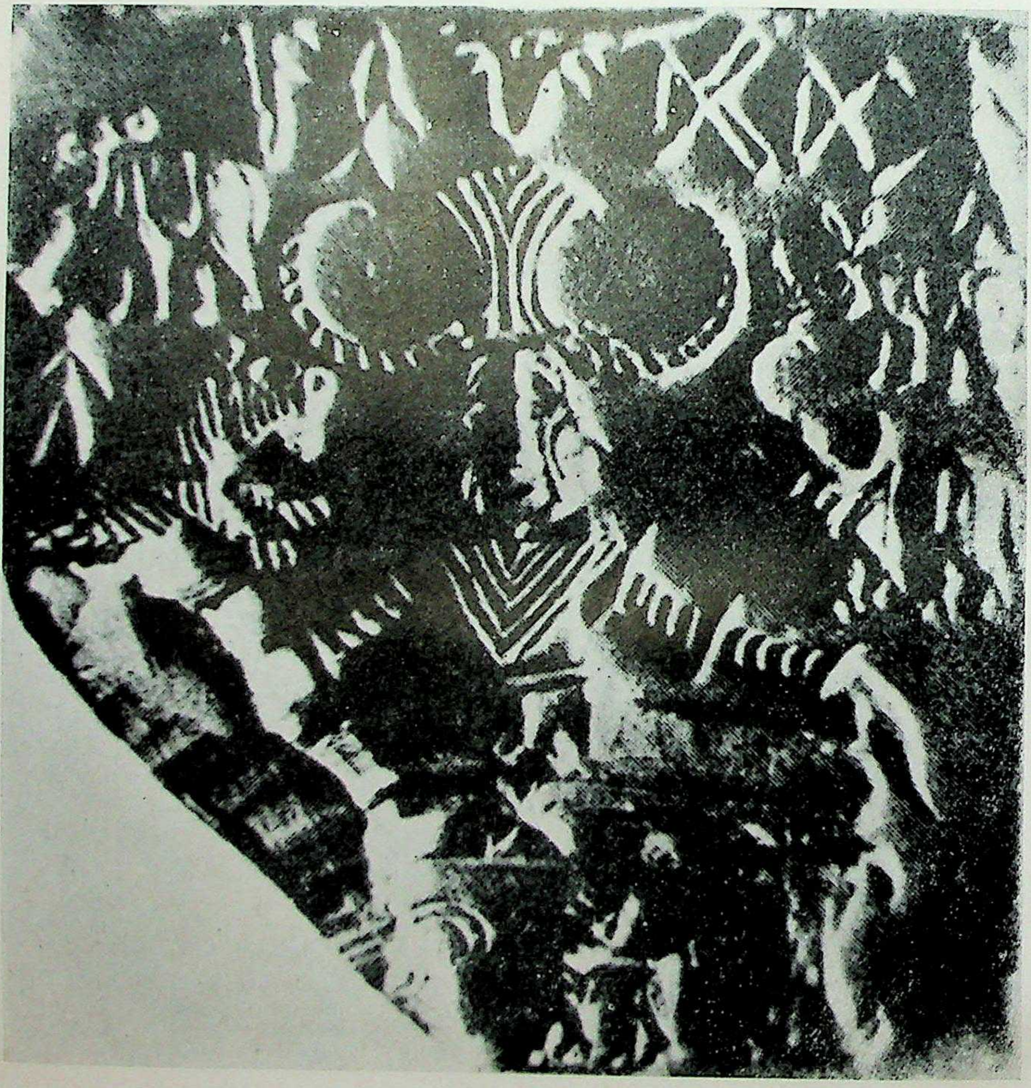
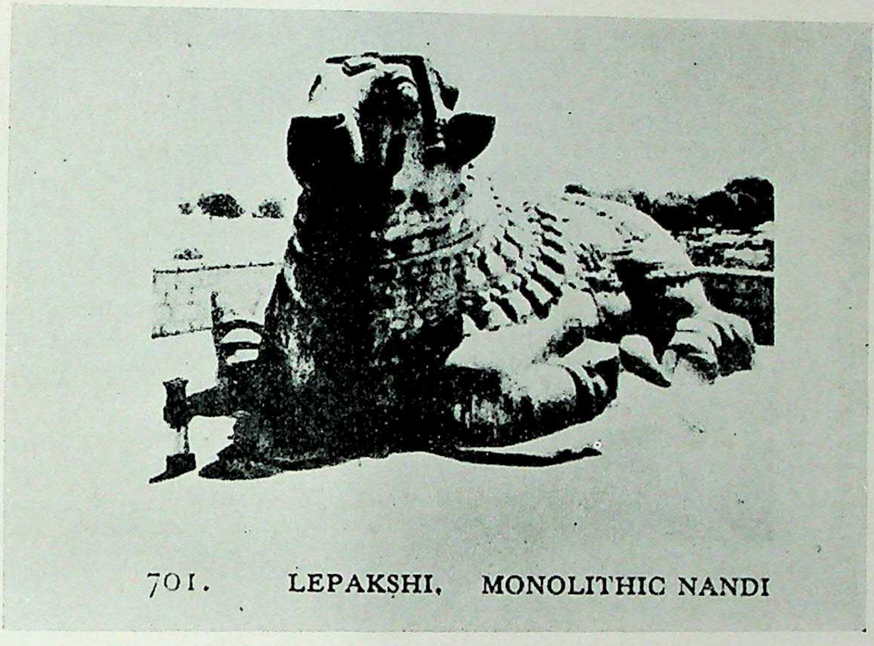


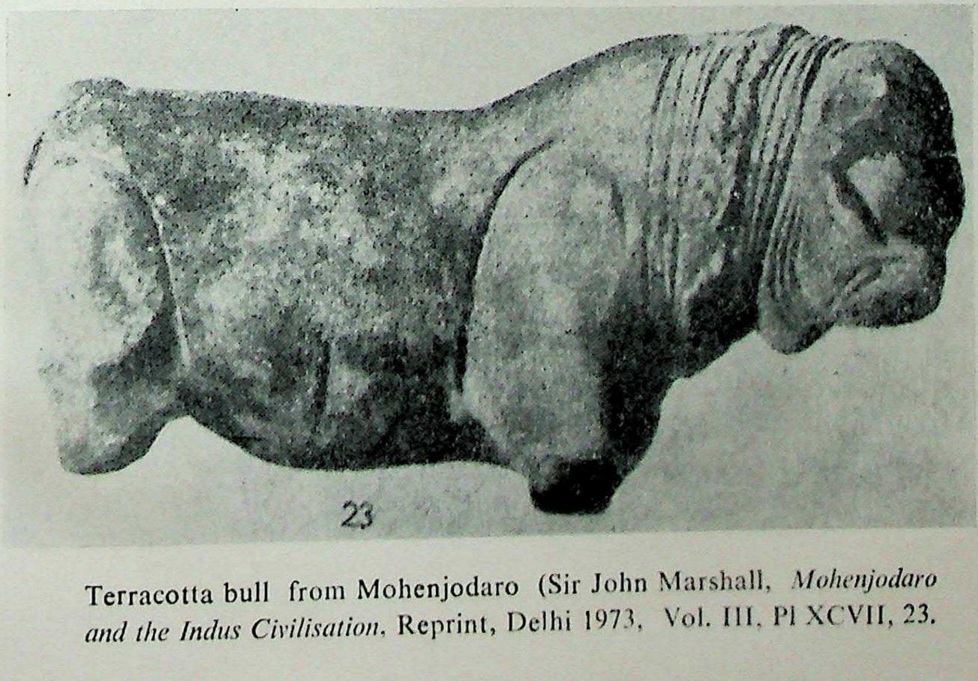
Celtic god Cerunnos surrounded by wild beasts, wearing horns and carrying a noose in his right hand—on one of the inner plates of the great votive silver cauldron found at Gundestrup, Jutland, Denmark (From the Mitchell Beazley Encyclopaedia History and Culture I, 2nd ed., London, 1979, p. 87)



Paśupati from Mohenjodaro, National Museum Collection, New Delhi

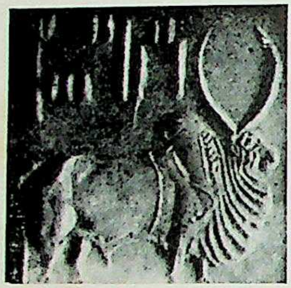

701. LEPAKSHI, MONOLITHIC NANDI

Monolithic Nandi, Lepakshi



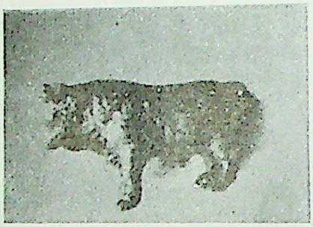
Terracotta bull from Mohenjodaro (Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, Reprint, Delhi 1973, Vol. III, Pl XCVII, 23.

The Harappan Bull and the indigenous breeds



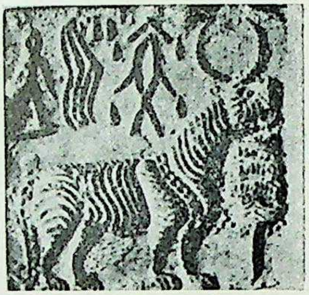
FROM A MOHENJO-DARO SEAL

Steatite 3.8x3.8 cms sq; National Museum New Delhi. After R. J. Mehta 'Masterpieces of Indian sculpture; Bombay - 1968, Plate No. 1.



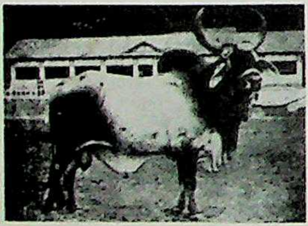
HARAPPAN BULL, KALIBANGAN PERIOD II

After Gregory L. Possehl, 'Ancient Cities of the Indus; Delhi-1979, Plate No. XXV.



BULL FROM A BANAWALI SEAL (HARYANA)

Courtesy: Directorate of Archaeology Haryana, Chandigarh.



KANKREJ BULL

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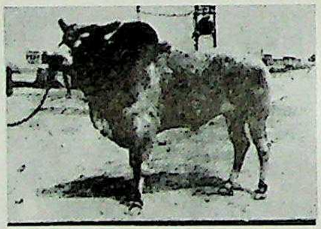

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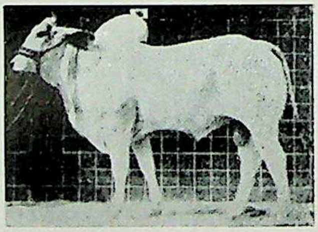

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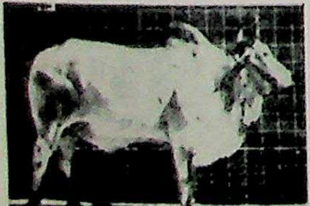

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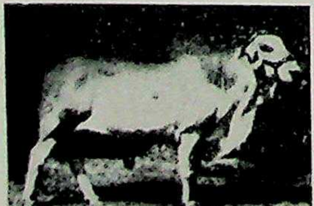

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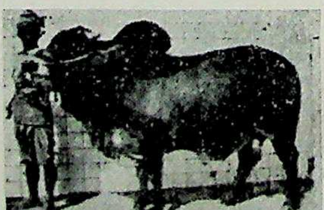

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